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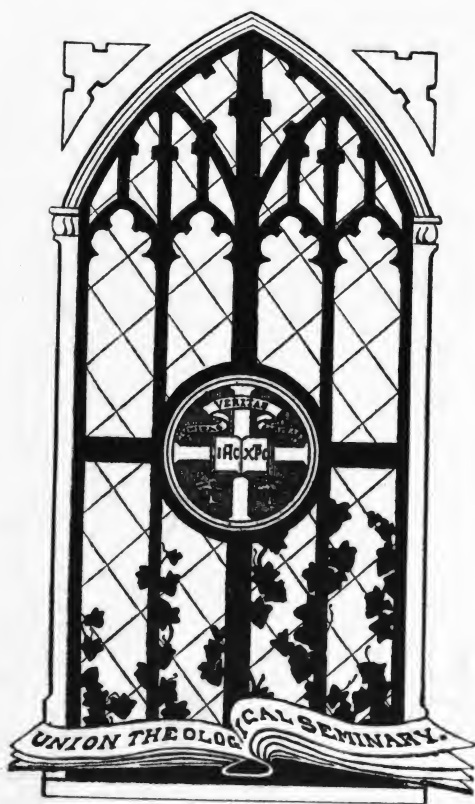
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**MEDIÆVAL POPES,  
EMPERORS, KINGS AND CRUSADERS.**

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MEDIÆVAL  
POPES, EMPERORS, KINGS,  
AND  
CRUSADERS;  
OR,  
GERMANY, ITALY, AND PALESTINE,  
FROM A.D. 1125 TO A.D. 1268.

BY MRS. WILLIAM BUSK,  
AUTHOR OF  
"MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE JAPANESE," ETC.

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VOL. IV.

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# MEDIÆVAL

## POPE, EMPERORS, KINGS, & CRUSADERS.

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### BOOK IV.

#### CHAPTER X.

##### FREDERIC II.

*Conflict between Gregory and Frederic—Gregory's Search for an Emperor—Unsuccessful—War in Italy—Siege of Ferrara—of Ravenna—of Faenza—Affairs of Germany—Albert Beham's Extravagance—Result—Marians in Prussia.*  
[1239—1241.]

THE Pope did not sink to rest after hurling the Church thunderbolt at the Emperor. He next declared, that a sentence of excommunication included forfeiture of the Empire; and directed the German Princes to proceed to a new election, that of Conrad being, by the deposal of his father, virtually annulled. He further endeavoured to facilitate the task thus assigned them, by providing a candidate for the high station which he pronounced vacant; and invited Abel Duke of Schleswick, a younger son of Waldemar of Denmark, to come forward in that capacity, trusting to Papal support. Against such a competitor for that station, as Frederic II, the invitation was not irresistibly tempting; and the Duke, or his royal father for him, prudently declined the proffered crown. Gregory thereupon transferred the tender to the Duke of Brunswick,

who, as prudently, answered, that he felt no inclination to involve himself in such troubles, as had been the lot of his uncle, the late Emperor Otho.

If these refusals painfully surprised and disappointed Gregory, so did the general resistance, that his anti-imperialist measures encountered in Germany; for this, he might, indeed, have been prepared, by the earnestly respectful remonstrance upon his unpaternal treatment of the Emperor, which the first tidings of the excommunication had produced from the Princes, spiritual and temporal, sitting in Diet at Eger. In fact, Frederic's abilities, energy, and power, appear to have, for the moment, vanquished the restless ambition usually actuating that body. Robbers of all grades, and extortioners (*leuteschinder*) rejoiced, indeed, at the news of his deposal; but they were the only class that did so. If a few princes of the Empire shrank from acknowledging an excommunicated sovereign, the great majority resented this Papal invasion of their rights. In answer to the Pope's command to elect a new emperor, they wrote, that the right of placing the Imperial crown upon the head of the elected German monarch, could not empower his Holiness to depose the lawfully elected monarch; observing, in regard to his alleged grounds for the deposal, that the relation of the Lombard cities to the Empire, being a subject, only by the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire, in Diet assembled, to be decided, or even considered, could not possibly be submitted to arbitration; Frederic II's yieldingness, upon that point, appeared to them his sole fault.

Discomfited in Germany by these, unexpectedly refractory, princes, Gregory turned his thoughts to France, with the new idea, seemingly, of dissevering the Empire from Germany. He commissioned the Cardinal Bishop of Palestina, his Legate at the French Court, to inform Lewis IX, that, having, with the concurrence of the College of Cardinals, for notorious heresy and other sins, deposed the Emperor Frederic, he had—not recommended to the choice of the electors, but—appointed the King's brother, Robert Comte d'Artois, Emperor in his stead; and expected so magnificent a spontaneous gift, to be accepted with joyful gratitude. But again his offers met with a

reception disappointing to the irascible pontiff. However disposed Earl Robert might be to accept the Imperial crown, Lewis IX, despite his piety, despite even his devotion to the Roman See, did not like the Pope's assumption of a right to depose sovereigns. His nobility appears to have sympathized with him upon the subject; and the Legate had alienated the body that might have favoured pontifical views, the clergy of France, by a demand of one fifth of their income towards defraying the expense which his quarrel with the Emperor had brought upon the Pope: with those expenses, they alleged they had no concern, because temporal weapons were not to be employed in spiritual disputes. Accordingly, a Council, held by the King to deliberate upon the Pope's offers, declared that, even if the Emperor were guilty of crimes for which he deserved to lose his crown, the Pope, singly, could not, and only in an Œcumenic Council could, pronounce his doom and exact the forfeiture. It was resolved further, that no man was to be condemned upon the mere accusation of his enemy; and that the Pope *had* shown himself an enemy to the Emperor, of whom no evil was known; who had been a good neighbour to France, and whose Crusade went far towards proving him a good Christian. Still, out of respect for the Holy Father, his offer was not at once declined, but, in the first instance, an embassy was sent to the Emperor, for the purpose—strangely anomalous, if not impertinent, as in these days it must appear—of investigating the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of his religious opinions.

The proceedings of this singular embassy were as undiplomatic, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, as its object. The chief ambassador, the Bishop of Langres, frankly informed Frederic of the Pope's offer, the accusation upon which it was based, and the consequent inquiry as to the truth of that accusation, committed to him. Frederic, though necessarily aware of Gregory's previous attempts, seems not to have anticipated this additional instance of restless animosity. For the Bishop's official report states, that he lifted up his hands in amazement, tears of mingled indignation and sorrow running down his cheeks, whilst he said: "My dear friends and neigh-



bours, God be judge betwixt me and him, who undermines my honour, slanders my character, and thirsts for my blood! From that Faith, which so many admirable Fathers of the Church have taught, which all my ancestors have professed, never have I deviated, to tread in the steps of the accursed. I heartily thank you, for having sought my answer upon so momentous a point, ere coming to any decision. Nevertheless should you attack me, marvel not at my defending myself, for I am constantly resolved to maintain all my rights and dignities unimpaired. God, the protector of innocence, will be my stay in this just endeavour." The Bishop adds, that, with deep emotion, he rejoined; "God forbid that, without just cause, we should wage war upon a Christian prince! Neither can we be moved by ambition, holding our hereditary king far superior to an elected emperor. Prince Robert may rest content with his dignity, as son to such an one and Comte d'Artois." Lewis, in his brother's name, upon receiving this report, declined the Pope's offer.

This third refusal appears to have convinced the implacable pontiff of the impossibility, for the moment at least, of disposing of the Empire at his pleasure; and, temporarily abandoning that scheme, he applied himself to depriving Frederic of his southern kingdom, which, through his suzerainty, he held to be more feasible. To the Venetian government, he now proposed the division of the Sicilian realms, between the Roman See and the Republic; and the Republic, unscrupulous as ambitious, and confident in her strength, at once closed with the proposal. A treaty, regulating both the mode of effecting the conquest and the subsequent allotment of the spoils, was signed by the Pope and the Doge, in September, 1239.

Gregory is said to have disposed of yet other provinces that were not his to bestow; viz. to have offered the sovereignty of Lombardy to James King of Aragon, who eagerly accepted it; but was deterred, by apprehensions both of the Emperor's power and of the Lombards' turbulence, from visiting Italy to take possession of the gift.<sup>(1)</sup>

Frederic, on the other hand, if he now appeared resolute to defy the enmity which he had so sedulously endeavoured to avert, still confined himself to defensive measures.

Refusing to acknowledge an excommunication, which, because unjust, he deemed invalid, he commanded all the rites of the Church to be celebrated as usual throughout his dominions; imposing fines upon priests who left their regular professional duty unperformed. He forbade his subjects to visit the Papal Court without express permission, recalling, with few exceptions, all then at Rome; and he forbade, under pain of death, the introduction of papal bulls into his realms. As a further guard, against the modes of exciting sedition, employed by Gregory in their former war, he banished the Mendicant Orders from Sicily and Apulia, suffering only two friars to remain as care-takers in each cloister; and, to the Dominican Professors in the Neapolitan University, he substituted Benedictines of Montecassino, whom he required, with all monks in his dominions, to give security for their loyalty. The severity of the Emperor's measures, against the Mendicant Orders, was approved, as, under the circumstances, indispensable, by the Father-Guardian of the Franciscans—the title of General seems as yet not taken—the before-named Elias of Cortona, who now pronounced the Emperor's complaints of the Pope's conduct well-founded, and his excommunication, as unjust, invalid. Gregory, thereupon, excommunicated him also; the Franciscans, thus sanctioned, deposed their Superior anew; and Elias, as ex-Father-Guardian, thenceforward attached himself wholly to Frederic.

But the value of the deposed Father-Guardian, as a faithful friend, was moral, not military; lying mainly in his judgment as a Counsellor, and in the weight, which his character and former position gave to his sanction of Frederic's self-vindication from the charges of heresy and atheism. The active support wanted, was to be sought amongst the Ghibelines of northern Italy. In their ranks, to the surprise as well as satisfaction of Frederic, appeared the Marquess of Este, who declared himself cordially reconciled to the Signori di Romano, and consequently loyal. But neither reconciliation nor loyalty were long-lived, though, upon which party rests the blame of the new rupture, may seem questionable. Azzo paid a visit to the Conte di San Bonifazio, averred that the Emperor had, to

his certain knowledge, projected his assassination,—for which, if the Marquess were faithful, he could have no motive—and again deserting a sovereign, whom he had, he said, found so unworthy of his services, he once more joined the Lombard League. The visit to San Bonifazio had probably awakened doubts of the Marquess's steadiness to his newly professed Ghibelinism; for Frederic had thereupon ordered his son, Rinaldo de Este, with his Romano wife, to be seized and carried to Apulia; as hostages for the fidelity of the house of Este. In those days, parental affection, however potent as an incentive to revenge, appears so inadequate to induce any sacrifice for the preservation of children, that holding a son as a hostage was little security for the father's fidelity. The only notice, taken by Marchese Azzo of this measure of precaution, was renewing his prohibition, under pain of death, to utter the Emperor's name: and Alberico di Romano, professedly in resentment of his daughter's captivity, deserted the Sovereign upon whose pleasure her life depended, surprised Treviso, expelled that Sovereign's garrison, and held it, in defiance of his authority. Frederic, without present means of recovering the city, made a present of it to Padua, as a valuable possession, easy to be conquered; and denounced the ban of the Empire against Azzo, Alberico, San Bonifazio, and some others.

The ban of the Empire and the Papal excommunication were, for the moment, alike disregarded by their intended victims. The Ghibeline clergy performed, as usual, all the rites of religion in the Emperor's presence; and hostilities proceeded without any decisive result. Frederic made himself master of divers Bolognese castles, and Ezze-lino, occupying the Tyrol, kept the communication with Germany open. But Venetian fleets, conformably with the treaty with the Pope, menaced and ravaged the Apulian coasts, though attempting no conquest there; the Guelphs triumphed over the Ghibelines at Ravenna: and, at Milan, where a Cardinal-Legate and a Minorite Friar, with infectious violence, preached a crusade against the excommunicated Emperor, calling upon even ecclesiastics to take the cross and bear arms in the cause of the Church against her matricidal son, enthusiasm rose to fever heat. Intel-

ligence of the movements, there preparing, drew Frederic towards Milan; but, not having numbers to master so strong a city by assault, he merely took up a strong position in the immediate vicinage, whence the attack might at any moment be made. The citizens, trusting to the protection of their walls, declined encountering the Imperial forces in the field; and thus the autumn passed unprofitably, if not without incidents characteristic of the times and of the parties.

Of this kind, was the banding themselves, by Milanese warriors, into confraternities; one, self-entitled *The Strong* (*I Forti*), bound by oath not to leave an individual of the hostile army alive; and another, of only six knights, sworn to seek out the Emperor in the midst of his host, and there slay him. But none of these pledged champions had yet found an opportunity of putting their sanguinary designs in execution, when a German knight challenged any pugnaciously disposed Milanese to meet him in single combat. The challenge was accepted, and the German, victorious, presently drove his fugitive antagonist into the camp, even into close proximity with the imperial tent. Frederic came forth and questioned the Milanese: "Didst thou voluntarily undertake this duel?" The republican, though conquered, unbroken in spirit, replied: "As a favour, I obtained the preference over a thousand competitors." The Emperor observed, "I trust, nevertheless, to subdue you."—"Never!" was the undimmed rejoinder of the Milanese. "Patriotism, and love of liberty will insure our victory over thee!" Frederic smiled, presented the bold, if unskilful, citizen-warrior with a fine horse, and dismissed him.

The Emperor found his most efficient assistant in his gallant son Enzo, whom he had named his Vicar, or Lieutenant in Italy; with authority, alike civil and military, to appoint judges and commandants, to decide appeals from inferior tribunals—a very few cases, that he reserved for his own consideration, excepted—in short, had empowered to supply his own place wherever he was not.<sup>(2)</sup> Enzo, whilst his father was menacing, rather than besieging, Milan, had invaded the March of Ancona, and, notwithstanding the exertions of Cardinal Colonna, had mastered

nearly the whole. Ghibeline Modena and Ferrara about the same time triumphed over the Bolognese army; and the attempts of the Pope's troops upon the Apulian territories were repulsed. And now the Emperor, having, by the renunciation of some disputed claim in right of his deceased wife, Yolante, recalled the Marquess of Montferrat to the usual loyalty of his race, withdrew from his camp before Milan, and leaving Lombardy to the care of Ezzelino, and of Marquesses Palavicino and Lancia, visited Tuscany.

At Pisa "he kept his Christmas," not only "with mirth and princely cheer;" but likewise, despite his excommunication, with all the rites, and ceremonial observances, with which the Roman-Catholic Church, celebrates this high Christian festival. He gained over Lucca, Sienna, and Arezzo. He is said to have appointed another of his illegitimate sons, Frederic of Antioch, Vicar of Tuscany; but Frederic of Antioch, the son of a noble lady—if not a princess—of Antioch, whose acquaintance the Emperor only made during his Crusade, was younger even than Conrad, and could bear the name only of an office, exercised through a governor.

The Emperor then left the maintenance of the Imperial authority in Tuscany, nominally, to the boy-Vicar; and, in January, 1240, entered the territories of the Roman See, where, conjointly with the King of Sardinia, he attacked and took several towns. At one of these, Foligno, he convened an assembly of deputies from the others, and also from as many, still unsubdued Papal cities, as should please to participate therein. This assembly Pietro delle Vigne rhetorically admonished to be loyal to their true Lord and Sovereign, the Emperor, and to cultivate peace amongst themselves. The conquered towns, of course, promised compliance, and, to Gregory's bitter mortification, so did some of the unconquered; even that esteemed most faithful, Viterbo, declaring for the Emperor; less indeed from loyalty or Ghibelinism, than from enmity to the Romans, who at that moment professed attachment to the Pope. Gregory had alarmed them, by representations of the great power of the Lombards; had worked upon their superstition and their love of

exhibitions, with threats of an interdict; and had lured them with concessions, such as administration of justice by municipal tribunals, the election of senators—there now were two—right of coining, exemption from excommunication, with others less important; all which, though confined to the precincts of the Eternal City, must have sorely galled his pride. By these means, he had obtained possession, if not of Rome, yet of one of his Roman palaces, the Transteverine Vatican; whence he again fulminated anathemas against the invaders of the Estates of the Church, Frederic, Enzo, and their accomplices.

This reinstallation of Gregory had been achieved prior to Frederic's last triumph at Foligno; strong in which, he now, by letter, addressed the language of rebuke and exhortation to the Romans. He reproached them with such degeneracy from their glorious ancestors, conquerors and lords of the world, as tame submission to an usurping and tyrannical old priest. He reminded them of the intimate connexion that ought to subsist between them and their Emperor; called upon them to assist in reuniting to the Empire all territories stolen or torn away; announced the progress he had made in recovering those formerly granted in vassalage to more loyal popes, which their disloyal successors pretended to hold in independent sovereignty. In conclusion, he bade them send their most distinguished citizens to his court or camp, there, in accordance with ancient custom, to be appointed proconsuls over provinces and cities. He gave his reprimands and exhortations weight, partly by a profuse distribution of gifts, as *e.g.*, a valuable fief and a considerable ecclesiastical benefice to two of the influential Frangipani, and partly by requesting a loan of money, from wealthy Romans, upon such usurious terms, as made lending the money and supporting him, for their advantage.

These measures were successful. The Romans again professed ardent imperialism, and the Pope, through fear of the ill usage hourly threatening, was a prisoner in his own palace. But his spirit was indomitable, and he knew the Romans. He one day issued, quite unexpectedly, from the gates of the Vatican, or rather of the adjoining Basilica, St. Peter's, attended by cardinals, arch-

bishops, bishops, abbots, and the whole body of Roman clergy, bearing croziers, crosses, crucifixes, and preceded by the most venerated of the holy relics, namely, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul. In solemn procession, amidst waving of censers, with uninterrupted chaunting of psalms and litanies, he paraded this visible Church through the streets of Rome, traversing the city's whole length, to the Lateran. Vainly did the Ghibelines, dreading the effect of this show, endeavour to turn the performance into ridicule, and excite the populace to execute their previous threats against the detested, usurping pontiff. The susceptible, and fickle, Romans, deeply impressed by the solemn procedure, followed, awe-stricken, to the Lateran. There, upon the steps of the mother-church, or Cathedral of Rome, the Basilica of St. John—averred to have been built by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine—the nonagenarian Pope addressed the multitude. With dignified mien, impressive from his great age, and in emphatic strain, he enumerated the offences of which he accused Frederic, and painted the sufferings of the Church. As he concluded his oration, the erst passionately Imperialist Romans took the cross against the Emperor.

Only in words, could Frederic, for the moment, give vent to his indignation, at the levity of these would-be masters of the world; the necessity of checking the mischief, wrought by papal intrigue suddenly recalling him to Apulia. There, the ex-Duke of Spoleto, who had originally embroiled him with Gregory, now, seduced by emissary friars, deserted him to head the rebellion that the Clergy had excited. Frederic hastened to the scene of danger; summoned the Estates of the realm to assemble at Foggia, in order to supply him with the funds which the emergency required; caused all suspected persons to be incarcerated; denounced pain of death against all partisans of Duke Reginald; and banished the Bishop of Cephaludia, with his kindred, as partisans of the Pope. He surprised the revolted city of St. Angelo, razed the walls, and burnt the houses of the ringleaders; some of whom he executed, branding those who bore the Cross upon their garments, as Crusaders against himself, with a cross upon the forehead;<sup>(3)</sup> and he gave command that the



place should, as a warning to others, remain permanently in ruins. He next laid siege to Benevento, the possession of which by the Roman See, was a constant vexation and source of annoyance to the government. This, Gregory and the Guelphs represented as a sacrilegious attempt to rob the Church, such as only Atheists or Mohammedans could venture upon.

But Gregory's wrath was unavailing; he gained as yet few partisans either in Germany or in Italy; and the treacherously achieved triumph of his allies at Ferrara—the first reverse suffered by the Emperor after this second rupture with the Pope—was due rather to commercial rivalry, than to zeal for the popedom, or even to Guelph passion. That reverse is now to be narrated.

Ferrara, under the wise and lenient government of Salinguerra,—who seems to have ruled by his influence over his fellow-citizens, without the positively acknowledged title of Signore,—had risen to an extraordinary degree of prosperity. Her Easter and Martinmas fairs were attended by merchants from all parts, not only of Italy, but of Europe; and this thriving trade had enriched the citizens without hardening or narrowing their hearts; so that, whilst the overflowing coffers of the State afforded a monthly distribution of money to the indigent, the affluent, in every season of scarcity, following the example of Salinguerra, opened their granaries, if not giving away their corn, selling it so freely and cheaply, as to keep the price down within the reach of the working classes. It may here be observed, by the way, that, not only was the science of political economy then undreamt of, but no one had yet discovered that half a loaf daily, till the next harvest,—the economical result of high price—was better than a whole loaf daily for one half the year, and no bread at all for the other. And, perhaps, in an age of very limited intercommunication, so local might plenty and scarcity be—supplies, possibly, attainable almost from the next province—as to prevent this form of benevolence from converting scarcity into actual famine, by quickening the consumption of the deficient supply. The only cause of complaint the Ferrarese could find, was, in the tolls, dues, indeed the whole system of imposts being, disgracefully low, and

utterly disproportionate to the dignity of the town. Meanwhile, this growing prosperity and consequent importance awoke envy in the neighbouring commercial cities; in Ferrara herself, impatience at the degree of sovereignty claimed over her by Venice and Ravenna. No attempt at breaking the yoke was, however, in the first instance, made, beyond demanding the free navigation of the Po for Ferrarese vessels. Even this demand was treated by Venice as an act of insurrection; a war ensued, in which four Lombard cities and Marchese Azzo eagerly joined, against the hated, because Ghibeline, Ferrara. Venice equipped an army, with the best battering train then in existence, and placed it, reinforced by Lombard auxiliaries, under the command of one of her nobles, Stefano Badoero, to form the siege of the presumptuous city; at which military operation, Cardinal Montelunga attended, as Legate, to assert the pretensions of the Roman See to Ferrara, when taken.

But Salinguerra, like Gregory IX, retained, at eighty years of age, all the energetic activity of manhood's summer strength. He had foreseen the impending storm, and, by strenuous exertion, had abundantly provided the city with every requisite for standing a long siege. Frederic sent him 500 horsemen, and an ample pecuniary supply; he obtained auxiliaries from Modena and Reggio, and conducted, as vigorously as he had prepared, the defence. Two attempts to storm were gallantly repulsed, and the confederates saw no prospect of early success.

Tiepolo, Doge of Venice, now repaired in person to the camp of the besiegers, to remedy the neglect or the blunders of Badoero, which alone, the Venetian government concluded, could have disappointed the well-founded expectations of prompt triumph. The Doge himself proved, however, as unfortunate as his reprimanded officer, and the siege threatened to be of spirit-wearying length, if not ultimately a failure. But Tiepolo had taken Philip of Macedon for his master in the besieger's art; he managed to send, if not a loaded ass, yet offers of gold, into Ferrara, and found a traitor there to accept them. Ugo Ramperti, next to Salinguerra in authority over his fellow citizens, but envious of the superior influence of his aged

rival, and filled with a very unholy hunger for gold, grasped at the proffered bribe, which he amply earned. In the Great Council he now declared for peace at any and every price, proposing to make overtures to the Doge or the Cardinal. Salinguerra represented the danger of betraying despondency by seeking to negotiate, and the impossibility of obtaining security for the observance of terms when granted. In vain! Ramperti frightened the timid, bribed the venal, excited in the merchants impatience of the interruption to trade, and carried the day. Salinguerra finally yielded, with the words: "A capitulation will, to me, be a sentence of nullity, to you a brand of infamy. Mine will be the easier doom." Proposals of capitulation were thereupon sent to the besiegers, who promised immunity of person and property to all; to Salinguerra, protection from injustice, together with a safe conduct to his home.

The Council having agreed to these terms, Salinguerra went forth to surrender the city to the Doge. Tiepolo received him courteously in his tent, but refused to accept the keys, saying: "Not to me! Venice fights but in the cause of the Church. To the Pope's Legate must Ferrara surrender, and in his hand swear fealty." The Doge's sole object, it should seem, was to crush a possible rival to Venice, which he might think effected by subjection to the Pope, who probably furnished the gold for Ramperti's bribe. To the Cardinal, therefore, Salinguerra delivered the keys; and on Whit-Sunday conducted the leaders of the besieging army into the city, where a splendid banquet was prepared for their reception. Amidst the festivity, Traversario, the main instigator of Ravenna's revolt from the Emperor, advanced some complaint against Salinguerra. The venerable nobleman attempted to justify himself, but his words were drowned in a general clamour. Some of the victors, stimulated, it is said, by the Legate, asserted that the promise of a safe conduct had been fully redeemed by his return, free and unharmed, from the camp to his own house in Ferrara; whence it followed that there was no longer any impediment to punishing him as he deserved. Azzo di Este, the hereditary enemy of Salinguerra, honourably opposed

such gross equivocation, but was overborne; and the Legate openly vindicated this shameful paltering "in a double sense."<sup>(4)</sup> Fortunately for the aged subject of this treachery, his enemies retained so much sense of the ignominy they were incurring, as sufficed to prevent their delivering him to his virulent accuser, Traversario, or to the Cardinal. Salinguerra was committed to the Doge's custody, and conveyed to Venice; where, although a prisoner, he was treated with respectful kindness, during the four years that he survived; and where, in July, 1244, he tranquilly expired.

His prediction was as literally fulfilled in regard to Ramperti and Ferrara as to himself. The traitor was, as usual, loathed even by those who had purchased his treachery, and yet more by his fellow-citizens, when taught to repent of their dastardly surrender. He fell into poverty, and died a despised beggar. The folly of trusting to a conqueror's promises was a lesson early taught the Ferrarese. Badoero, the first Podestà given them, subjected their trade to oppressive restrictions for the benefit of the Venetians. Marchese Azzo, the next, extorted heavy pecuniary contributions, seizing the goods, cattle, &c., of those who would not or could not pay his demands; and exacted the continuance of his salary after he had laid down his office; whilst the Pope was deterred, by the fear of alienating valuable allies, from interfering to protect the helpless town, now his own. Ferrara sank into insignificance, and, some twenty years later, was obtained by Azzo's son, in vassalage of the Pope. He banished 1,500 Ghibeline families, whose property he confiscated, and divided amongst his Guelph partisans.

Ezzelino was earnestly preparing to relieve his brother-in-law, when Ramperti forestalled his projected operations. Various circumstances had prevented his undertaking them earlier, even had he conceived, which he could not, Salinguerra's need to be urgent. When Ferrara was attacked, he was engaged in defending his own dominions against the Guelphs; and succeeded in preserving Padua, but lost Mantua, which remained subject to San Bonifazio. Ferrara being surrendered, and Salinguerra a prisoner, Ezzelino besieged Agna, took Giacomo di Carrara

prisoner in a sally, and executed him as a traitor. Upon the loss of the Commandant, Agna opened its gates; but the women of the captured city sought to escape the consequent outrages that they dreaded, by crossing the adjacent lake. Crowding for this purpose into a sloop, they unhappily so overloaded the little vessel that she foundered, and all were lost. A calamity apparently as much laid to Ezzelino's charge, as the execution of Carrara.

Whilst these things were passing in central and northern Italy, Frederic had re-established tranquillity in the south, and raised a new Apulian army, with which he hastened back to the chief theatre of the war. He encamped before Ravenna, where Traversario had died since his triumph at Ferrara. The citizens, no longer stimulated by him, were alarmed at the vigorous preparations making to assail their walls, and repented of having given ear to his Guelph seductions. They flocked into the Imperial camp, to surrender at discretion, and implore their pardon, which Frederic, in consideration of their past loyalty and present penitence, freely granted. Upon the 22nd of August, he again took possession of Ravenna.

If the gain of this town did not counterbalance the loss of Ferrara and Mantua, the difference sufficed not to make the Pope's position satisfactory. The Estates of the Church were ravaged; the impression made upon the Romans had naturally been but ephemeral; he was in daily apprehension of a new revolt, and utterly destitute of the sinews of war. He was, therefore, very desirous of a suspension of hostilities, and upon one point he made up his mind to yield. From the time of his excommunication, the Emperor had been constantly demanding the convocation of an Œcumenic Council, which should reform all abuses in the Church, and judge between him and the Pope. Gregory, to whose despotic temper a deliberative, legislative assembly, was most repugnant, had as constantly refused or eluded compliance. But he well knew that his refusal was generally condemned, was disapproved even by, the devout, as unquestionably orthodox, Lewis IX; and now, in his difficulties, he resolved to give way. He summoned a Council to meet at Easter of the next

year, 1241; and, for the intermediate six months, he commissioned Cardinal Colonna to negotiate a truce with the Emperor.

Frederic, sensible how detrimental to his interest was a war with the Holy See, earnestly desired peace, and readily listened to the Cardinal's proposals. The six months' truce was promptly concluded; but with respect to the Council he was far from satisfied. It seems to have been previously customary, though not invariably so, to give the Fathers of the Church a year's notice of their intended assembling; whether simply as due to the solemnity of an Œcumenic Council, and of the topics upon which they were to deliberate and decide; or whether, according to the means of mediæval international communication and locomotion, a year was not much more than the time required for bringing together prelates from the more distant regions of Christendom. Six months' notice might seem a limitation devised in order to compose a Council, falsely called Œcumenic, wholly of prelates within easy reach of Rome; who, being mostly creatures of the Pope, would, at his bidding, snatch from the Emperor the power, now almost within his grasp, of controlling the ambitious and implacable pontiff. Frederic, though expecting more justice from a Council than from Gregory, could not be without fears of his influence over ecclesiastics; and appears to have caught at this irregularity, as an escape from pledging himself to be bound by the Council's decision.

With this view, probably, he addressed letters to the Kings and Princes of Europe, representing the necessary unfairness of a Council convoked in this manner. Others he addressed to the Cardinals, reminding them that they, who by their very name, were the hinges (*cardines*) upon which the business of the world turned, should not suffer the reverence, justly claimed by the occupant of the Holy See, to degenerate into subserviency to the passion or the prejudices of an unreasonably violent and ambitious Pope, or injustice towards a wronged Sovereign. With less dignity, he employed Pietro delle Vigne's pen, to dissuade, in a very whimsical circular, the European Clergy from obeying the papal summons. In this strange document,

the Sicilian Grand-Justiciary and Protonotario dwells upon the perils by sea, from winter storms, and the Imperial fleets; by land, from the Imperial troops; at Rome, from *malaria*, venomous reptiles, the catacombs, and the character of the treacherous and sanguinary Romans. He concluded in a more diplomatic style, by pointing out to the intended members of the Council, that the unscrupulously ambitious Pope, even if he should employ bribes and promises rather than violence, to obtain a decision in his own favour, would, having obtained it, indubitably extort immense contributions from them, as necessary to carry out that decision.<sup>(5)</sup> To this circular Gregory opposed another, rebutting every argument of Pietro delle Vigne, loading the Emperor with obloquy, and insisting upon obedience to his summons. The Emperor retaliated by calling upon all his faithful lieges to prevent the repair of prelates to the Council.

A favourable change, in one respect, had, meanwhile, occurred in Gregory's condition. In England, Henry III, professing a vassal's obedience to the Pope, had assisted the Legate to wring from his reluctant clergy the fifth of their income, demanded for the purpose of despoiling his sister's husband, and prospectively, her children, of the Imperial dignity. The sum thus obtained, together with a profuse sale of indulgences, had replenished Gregory's coffers; and no sooner were his pecuniary embarrassments relieved, than the truce he had solicited became odious to him; and, upon the plea that it did not include the Lombards, he disowned it. The negotiator, Cardinal Colonna, incensed at this disavowal of his authorized act, is reported to have thus remonstrated: "Holy Father, I will have no appearance of perfidy thrown upon me by such a violation of my plighted word; and better befitted it your Holiness to make peace, than to send a reverend Cardinal back to a great monarch with so unseemly a message." Gregory wrathfully exclaimed: "If thou obey me not I will no longer acknowledge thee as a Cardinal!"—"Nor I you as Pope!" Colonna abruptly retorted; and with an immense train of relations, connexions, dependants, and followers, quitting the Papal Court, he thenceforward attached himself to the Emperor.

Other Cardinals began, about the same time, to complain of the Pope's obstinacy, and Ghibeline murmurs were again heard in the streets of Rome.<sup>(6)</sup>

Cardinal Colonna, when, with purpose thus changed, he again sought the Emperor, found him before Faenza, which, upon the surrender of Ravenna, he had proceeded to besiege. But before narrating the course of the siege, the assistance, however small, received from Germany for forming or conducting it, deserves specific mention, as coming solely from the three Swiss Cantons, since so celebrated for their love of liberty—which was not disloyalty—Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden. Their faithful services upon this occasion were rewarded with a charter that secured them, permanently, against transfer from immediate vassalage to mesne vassalage under any Prince of the Empire.<sup>(7)</sup> To withstand the violation of this charter, by such a transfer of their vassalage from the Empire to Austria, these Cantons, under Tell and his confederates, rose in arms, within the century.

Faenza had expelled all those of her children who discovered any Ghibeline predilections, and now boasted a population of 36,000 Guelphs, with the bold Venetian, Michele Morosini, for their Podestà. Their defence was as gallant and almost as pertinaciously persevering as the siege, which continued through eight months. The besieged were long encouraged by the pecuniary straits of the Emperor, who only at such cruelly usurious interest could obtain a loan, that the transaction has been adduced in proof of his profligate extravagance and general mal-administration. This is the occasion upon which he was driven to coin leather; an expedient successful beyond his hopes. For when the Faenzans, relying upon his want of money, saw this intrinsically worthless substitute, received, upon his word, as a satisfactory representative of the gold *augustale*, their courage fell with their confidence. Overtures for a negotiation were made, and the citizens would probably have at once surrendered at discretion, as required by the Emperor, had not Gregory's usual emissaries, Mendicant Friars, stolen into the town, and by assurances that the Milanese and the Bolognese were hastening to their relief, persuaded them to renew their resistance.



These assurances proved fallacious. Direct assistance Faenza received from none ; and indirect, only from Venice, through her prosecution of her own schemes. The Doge, resuming the execution of his treaty with Gregory, for the division of Frederic's Norman heritage, between the Pope-dom and the Republic, led a Venetian fleet again to ravage the Apulian coast. Several towns, easily accessible from the sea, were burnt, and the inhabitants carried off to be sold as slaves—probably, in defiance of papal prohibition, to Mohammedans—several Apulian ships perished in the flames, and their crews with them. But no diversion was thus wrought for Faenza. The Emperor took such measures as he judged necessary for the protection of his own dominions, but kept his army in his camp, as though leaving the defence of Apulia to the Apulians. In divers ways he retaliated the aggression ; to compel a different employment of the Venetian fleet, he stimulated other mercantile cities to send out cruizers, harassing the trade of Venice ; he instigated Zara to revolt, again exchanging Venetian, for Hungarian sovereignty ; he requested his ally, the King of Tunis, to break off all commerce with the republic, and desired his son-in-law, Vatazes, to attack her Oriental factories. Finally, he ordered the son of the Doge, who had been hitherto kept in honourable captivity, to be taken to the sea-shore, there exhibited to his countrymen, to his father, as imperilled by their hostility ; and, should the menace prove unavailing, to be executed before their eyes. To the policy of his country and his father, the unfortunate prisoner was thus sacrificed.<sup>(8)</sup>

Faenza's last hope now rested upon the approaching winter. But Frederic ordered his men to make themselves huts in which they might brave the inclemency of the season, and this hope vanished. Hunger, in those days of unscientific war, the wonted conqueror of beleaguered towns, now began to be felt within the walls ; and the citizens sought to lighten its pressure by sending away the women and children, with all non-combatants. But, piteous as were the supplications of these outcasts, the Emperor refused their petition for a passage through his lines ; he would not, by relieving the helpless, enable the strong to hold out the longer, shedding more

of his faithful warriors' blood. Reduced to the last extremity, the Faenzans now offered to surrender, merely soliciting permission to evacuate the town in personal safety, leaving all their property to the victors. But Frederic, sternly enumerating their offences against himself, including an attempt at assassination, and an insult formerly offered to his mother, ended with these words: "In their arrogance they have, to the utmost of their ability, sinned against me, and with me must it rest to inflict what chastisement I will." The walls were in many places breached, mines were ready to be opened into the very heart of the city, where famine now reigned. Resource there was none, and, upon the 14th of April, 1241, Faenza surrendered at discretion. In gloomy resignation the citizens went forth, as to certain death. What words can express the general revulsion of feeling, when Frederic pronounced their unconditional pardon? He could freely forgive, but would be neither bullied, nor bargained with, by rebels. Can it be doubted that this had been his purpose towards Milan?

Almost simultaneously with Faenza, Benevento surrendered to the Apulian army; and there, by his orders, the walls were razed, and the citizens disarmed. Frederic, confident of immediate powerful reinforcements from Germany, now directed his march towards Rome, deeming the war well-nigh ended, and even the obdurate pride of Gregory subdued. But a fearful storm was gathering in the north, ere describing the progress of which, a retrospect of the state of Germany, during the Emperor's absence, will be necessary.

Conrad had, like his elder brother before him, been left there, that the name and presence of the King of the Romans—child as he was—might strengthen the hands, to which the government of Germany was really committed. But, whilst the imperial father, influenced by political motives, thus severed his child from his own superintendence, the bitter recollection of the crimes into which he had seen his first-born seduced, redoubled his anxiety in regard to the education of the younger: and amidst the multifarious cares, toils, and dangers besetting him, during his conflict with the Pope, he never lost sight of this parental duty. He ordered Conrad to be early inured to the fatigues of

a campaign, and the terrors of the battle-field. At one time, being led to fear that the royal boy, even at his early age, was acquiring the German vice of hard drinking, he indignantly sorrowful, ordered all, who could be suspected of thus degrading the young King's childish innocence, to be separated from him, and sent to Naples, there to suffer condign punishment; directing his future associates to be selected amongst persons distinguished for virtue and wisdom, who, both by precept and example, would lead him in a right course. He himself constantly wrote the boy letters inculcating the purest virtue, and breathing a high moral sense of kingly duty; warning him against flattery and calumny, by the sad example of his unfortunate elder brother—unfortunate only because criminal—and also against over indulgence and idly neglecting his studies, to which offence, whether or not to drinking, an eleven or twelve years old King may fairly be supposed prone.<sup>(9)</sup>

Conrad does not appear to have benefited, as might have been hoped, by such tuition. But, even had he more closely resembled his ancestors in intellect and energy, he could at the period in question have no share in the government, being a mere schoolboy; although historians, forgetting his age, habitually write: Conrad held Diets, Conrad led an army, &c. All power was vested in his guardians, who, by the Emperor's commands, took him to the scene of business, whether pacific or sanguinary. But this vicarious government was, as usual, inadequate to repress feuds among the princes of the Empire: of which the most material were the Duke of Austria's with his neighbours. Frederic the Combative began his operations for recovering his forfeited duchy, more dexterously than might have been anticipated from his character. Whilst the conflict with the Pope insured the Emperor's absence, he won the loyal Duke of Bavaria's favour, by assisting him, to the utmost of his reduced means, against his enemies, the Archbishop of Mainz and the Bishop of Freising; and then induced him to unite with the Legate, in mediating his own reconciliation to the King of Bohemia; which was effected by affiancing his niece Gertrude, the daughter of his deceased brother, with a promise of the

districts north of the Danube for her portion, to Pribislaf, or Wladislas, eldest son and heir of King Wenceslas. But the Bohemian succours, that were to be the first fruit of this marriage, fell short of Duke Frederic's expectations; he reinstalled himself more by his own exertions than by their aid, and, upon this ground, withheld, according to custom, the promised portion. Hence he was again at war with Wenceslas. Other feuds, then troublesome, were those of the Margraves of Brandenburg with the Archbishop of Mainz and the Margrave of Misnia; of the Duke of Brabant with the Countess of Flanders, concerning the double election of a Bishop of Liege; and of the flourishing city of Lubeck, with her neighbours, the Earl of Holstein and the King of Denmark.

But far more annoying to Conrad's government than these ever-recurring broils, were the incessant intrigues of Gregory and his emissaries, to procure among the princes a candidate for the Empire, and to induce the others to elect him. The pontifical efforts thus to supplant both Frederic and Conrad were unchecked by either disappointment in the search for an Emperor, or the remonstrances of the German princes, ecclesiastical and lay, who adhered to their chosen sovereign. A candidate for the crown was indeed found in the person of Frederic of Austria, to whom, holding his duchy in contravention to a decree of the Diet, a chance of empire was ample inducement to incur additional risk; but, entangled in his quarrel with Wenceslas, he was unable immediately to come forward. The Emperor, availing himself of this circumstance, commissioned the Archbishop of Salzburg to negotiate a reconciliation with the Duke of Austria; authorizing him, of course, to cancel the confiscation of the duchy. The prelate easily persuaded Frederic, despite his surname of the Combative, to purchase the imperial sanction to his recovery of his principality, by renouncing his more ambitious aspirations. The Duke never again forfeited his allegiance.

Gregory was again without a candidate; but, exasperated by disappointment, he was only the more immutably determined to triumph over the Emperor. He now selected, as his chief agent in seducing the German princes, one Albert Beham, Archdeacon of Passau; a man of

reckless audacity, unprincipled and crafty. By intrigues, bold, clever, and varying, as required by the character of the individual attacked, Beham succeeded in luring many to the pontifical side, and when he saw himself supported by a party, respectable in point of numbers, he, in Gregory's name, threatened, that if the whole body would not, in obedience to the papal mandate, elect a new King of the Romans, the Pope would, by his own sole authority, appoint a new Emperor, transferring the imperial crown to another nation. Although his having already vainly attempted so to do was known, this menace appears to have literally frightened some of the most loyal princes out of their senses. Even the Duke of Bavaria, terrified by the very idea of such a catastrophe, is reported to have exclaimed: "Let him then chuse his Emperor from amongst ourselves!" Bitterly did Frederic feel the ungrateful desertion of Otho, who owed the ducal rank to Frederic Barbarossa's gift of the Bavarian duchy to a Bavarian Palsgrave. But remonstrance and representation were powerless, as was the prospect of seeing the imperial crown upon his daughter's brow, by her nuptials with the juvenile King of the Romans, to recall him to his allegiance. Gregory now anticipated a complete revolt, as certain; but his own wrongheaded pertinacity and sanction of violence, in his agents, disappointed his hopes.

The Pope, pleased with Beham's successful adroitness in intrigue, ventured to confer upon him spiritual power, interfering with that of the Archdeacon's ecclesiastical superiors. This, as a general rule, pontifical policy avoided; habitually, as before stated, conferring the legatine authority in every realm upon a national prelate; except when, especial occasion requiring more direct intervention, a Cardinal, a Prince of the Church, superior in dignity to all prelates, was sent, as Legate, *a latere*, from Rome. But now, Gregory, if he did not actually give Archdeacon Beham the title, invested him with the full authority of a Legate; which the insolently bold Archdeacon exercised, as though intoxicated with the possession of such power over his superiors. For refusing to elect a second King of the Romans, he excommunicated bishops, and archbishops, who, naturally enough, treated

their excommunication by an inferior, as an idle insult. The Pope, as if further to alienate and exasperate the prelate-princes of Germany, allowed his Legate in France, a Cardinal, to summon them to Paris, there, in a country with which they had no connexion, to give an explanation of their conduct. Upon their disregarding the summons, the Cardinal both excommunicated them, and sentenced them to discharge the debts he himself had contracted, with some merchants of Sienna.

These proceedings fired the whole ecclesiastical body throughout Germany with indignation. Their usual anti-imperialist propensities were forgotten, and at Beham's repeated excommunications of the Emperor, in which he now included all who should dare to pray for him, they only laughed. Incensed at this disregard of his legatine authority, the Archdeacon next deposed the Bishops, whom he accused of imperialism, commanding the Abbots of Germany to publish and repeat his sentences. Almost to a man the Abbots refused; and he now deposed them also, ordering the monks to elect new abbots. Again, almost everywhere, the monks, either sympathizing with their superiors, or fearing their power more than that of the distant Pope, in their turn refused obedience. Only some few prelates upon the banks of the Rhine professed willingness to comply with the papal mandate; for the most part adding, that their flocks forcibly prevented their obeying; the cities, as usual, adhered steadily to the Emperor, notwithstanding the decrees, adverse to their wishes, that he had deemed it necessary to ratify. At Passau, the Chapter proved its loyalty, by expelling the arrogant Archdeacon, whether spontaneously, or upon a hint from the Emperor's representatives. The incensed Beham hurried to the spot, to protest against such a deprivation of his right, and there presumed to interrupt the Bishop, whilst celebrating mass; when he was corporally ejected from the altar and the church, by the athletic prowess of the episcopal arm.

The anti-papal excitement, thus produced by the irrational violence of Gregory's agent, could not but be shared by the lay Princes of the Empire; and Wenceslas of Bohemia, renouncing the factious disposition he had betrayed, again

declared himself loyal. In the autumn of 1240, he, together with the Saxon, Brandenburg, and Misnian Princes, attended a Diet held by the Archbishop of Mainz at Eger; before which the Duke of Bavaria, whom two prelates, the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Ratisbon, had vainly endeavoured to win back to loyalty, was summoned, to answer the charge of treason. Otho, in great alarm, hastened to Bohemia, not to present himself before the Diet, but to claim the protection of his kinsman, Wenceslas. During his absence, the young King of the Romans visited his kinswoman, the Duchess of Bavaria, to remonstrate with her upon the Duke's ingratitude, and point out to her, that the same power which had raised the Wittelsbachs to ducal rank, could throw them back into their pristine inferiority. And here Conrad may be presumed to have actually performed the part assigned him by chroniclers; this remonstrance being no more than what a clever, carefully educated boy, of twelve years old, yet earlier initiated into public business, might feel, think, and say. Duchess Agnes, though weak and bigoted, is believed to have been much impressed by the words of her young cousin and affianced son-in-law; but her influence with her husband was not what, from the splendid portion—the palatinate—that she had brought him, had been hoped. Otho was obdurate; and being disappointed in his expectations from the King of Bohemia, applied to the Pope for support, avowing that he could not, single-handed, maintain the papal cause against united Germany. And, in April 1241, at the very moment when Faenza and Benevento were surrendering to the Emperor, Albert Beham wrote to Gregory, to the same effect. Apparently sacrificing his own pride and ambition to promote the success of his patron's projects, he declared that unless Duke Otho received effectual support, such as sending a Cardinal-Legate to Germany, armed with power and authority to coerce the princes into electing a new sovereign, the majority of them would assuredly cross the Alps, to reinforce their Emperor.

One of Frederic's steadiest, as well as most active and valuable friends, will have been missed in this retrospect of German affairs. Hermann von Salza was no more;

having died at Rome in 1240, whilst zealously, but ineffectually, striving to soften the inveterate obstinacy of the Pope, and reconcile him to the Emperor. As Grand-Master of the Teutonic Knights, he was succeeded by Landgrave Conrad; who, though firmly attached to Frederic, residing at Rome and engrossed by the missionary war, and other concerns of his Order, took little part in German politics. The main body of the Marians, under the Landmeister, Hermann Balk, was domiciliated in the Polish province of Kulm, and in Prussia; where, assisted by the Crusaders whom, in 1231, Gregory had called forth, and by those whom the Knights' high reputation, and the prospect of booty, attracted, they had conquered and converted half the natives. The war they carried on—no easy one, the Heathen Prussians fighting stoutly for their idols and their liberty—was characterized by traits of chivalrous gallantry and self-sacrifice that the historian of the Order may well delight to record. The temptation to share his privilege may, perhaps, even in a more general history, be so far indulged, as to allow mention of two instances. Upon one occasion, a small party of these warrior-missionaries being defeated by the Prussians, two Marians, taking post in a narrow defile, held it against the host of pursuers, covering the retreat of their comrades, till these had reached a place of safety; and they themselves, riddled with wounds, lay dead in the pass they had defended. Upon another, when the provisions in a castle besieged by swarms of Heathen were consumed, the garrison, much too small to confront the enemy without the walls, retreated silently by night, to make their way, unobserved if possible, to another fortress. An old blind knight, as the only way in which he was still able to serve his Order, remained behind, to avert discovery of his comrades' departure, by ringing an alarm bell and signal bells, as though the ordinary garrison business were proceeding. So he rang; his comrades effected their escape unsuspected, to prosecute the war of conversion; and he rang on, until the Prussians, perceiving at dawn the walls to be unoccupied, scaled them and cut him down at his post.

But on all sides the Marians were embroiled. The



Polish Dukes, who now felt themselves safe from Prussian aggression, fell out with both the Pope and the Emperor, touching the suzerainty over Prussia, claimed the restitution of Kulm, and refused the Order further assistance. The Polish bishops wanted back the lands ceded to procure defenders. The very clergy, followers of the Knights' career of conquest, denied and resisted the Order's ecclesiastical privileges; Bishop Christian, intoxicated apparently by his early success, taking the lead in opposition to the champions, whose aid he had so earnestly solicited. The scene of their operations became moreover exceedingly extended. In Livonia, the Sword-bearers, having proved unequal to contend with the Heathen natives on the one hand, and the schismatic Russians on the other, invited the Teutonic Knights to assist them. They sent a detachment thither accordingly, who soon became all powerful; and, in 1237, the Brothers of the Sword gladly merged in the more important Order. A body of Marians, under a separate, but subordinate Landmaster, was thenceforward established in Livonia; where, whilst the Bishop of Riga contested their rights, privileges, and exemptions, they waged war, "never ending, still beginning," with the natives and with Russians; occasionally battling with Swedes and Danes.

## CHAPTER XI.

### FREDERIC II.

*Mongol Invasion—Russia subjugated—Poland overrun—  
Battle of Liegnitz—Devastation of Hungary—Affairs of  
Italy—Council foiled—Death of Gregory—of Celestin IV  
—Conclave—Mongols in Austria.* [1241—1242.

THE calamities, that interrupted the victoriou scareer of the Emperor, and arrested Germany's preparations to support him against the inveterate Pope, are now to be related. They appeared as forerunners, announcing the imminent annihilation of European enlightenment and progressive civilization, by a second deluge of barbarism and ignorance, yet more destructive than the first. The savage Mongols, after the momentary halt occasioned by the death of Gengis Khan, A.D. 1227, had resumed their torrent-like career, 'sweeping away all that obstructed their onward course. In 1237, Gengis Khan's son, Oktai, sent his son or grandson, Batu, to complete the subjugation of Russia. Again the several Princes, thinking more of internal broils, than of the common danger from barbarians, whom as such they disdained, suffered the Mongols to advance, almost unopposed, till the eastern provinces were a desart, and the Grand-Prince, George Wsewolodowitz, in an attempt at resistance, was slain. In the following year, 1238, the stand made by a Tartar tribe, called indifferently the Polowzans or Kumans,<sup>(10)</sup> and dependent upon a Russian principality, caused another momentary stoppage in Mongol progress. During this respite, Jaroslaf Wsewolodowitz succeeded his brother George, as Grand-Prince: but no measures were taken for profiting by the manful struggle of the Polowzans, to

unite the forces of the several principalities, and stem the advancing inundation. The western princes of northern Russia, heedless of the advancing Mongols, were engrossed by wars with the Teutonic Knights, and with the Swedes, for possession of Livonia.

The stoppage was, indeed, but temporary; the Polowzans were overwhelmed, and those of the tribe who would not submit to slavery under the Mongols, fled with their Khan to Hungary. Bela IV gladly welcomed them as an accession to the deficient population of his kingdom; and, upon condition of their receiving baptism, gave them lands by the, to them familiar, Tartar name of Kumans.

Bela appears, for the moment at least, to have found this increase of his numbers more noxious than beneficial. The Kumans, unaccustomed to strict laws concerning landed property, often preferred their neighbours' fields to their own, for pasturing their cattle; and are not seldom accused of offering violence to the wives and daughters of those neighbours; an offence most intolerable to the Magyars, who never, amidst the wildest excitement of victory, and in their most savage state, were charged with anything of the kind.

In 1239, Batu, having mastered the Polowzans, again overran Russia, pouring southwards. Jaroslaf now exerted himself to unite his vassal-princes for defence; but in vain. The Princes of Kiew and of Halitsh, almost alone, strove to aid him. Halitsh was one of the most powerful of the southern principalities, apparently claiming—in opposition to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Eastern Empire, and the provinces themselves—to include part of Walachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia.<sup>(11)</sup> Its Prince, Daniel, sought support from his neighbour and ally, Bela; but Bela either trusted for safety to the Carpathian mountains, the impracticable nature of which might be expected to turn the torrent aside from his dominions, or was loth so to provoke the resentment of the terrible barbarians, as to make them disregard the difficulties of that natural rampart. He left his ally to his fate; and the only measure of precaution adopted by him, that of guarding the passes of the Carpathian range, was taunted as cowardice, both by his subjects and by his

German neighbours—alike contemnors of dangers, unappreciated and still remote.

Ultimately, Belas selfish policy availed him not, and either Daniel or the Prince of Kiew, is believed, in order at once to baffle it, relieve Russia, and punish the ally who failed them at their need, to have caused so alluring a picture of Hungary to be placed before Mongol cupidity, as directed the course of the deluge upon that country. Whether so instigated, or merely pursuing his southward way, the mighty swarm proceeded towards Hungary; and Bela applied himself diligently to repairing and improving all fortifications, in his northern provinces. But Poland, as easier of access, again changed the course of the Golden Horde, taking precedence in suffering. For the moment Hungary escaped.

Boleslas V was at this time Duke of Cracow, and suzerain, although he cannot be called Sovereign, of Poland, seeing that the other Dukes, if they did not deny his right to obedience, paid no attention to his commands. Thus, Poland, as disunited as Russia, and far inferior in strength, was a yet more inviting prey. Everything east of the Vistula was overrun and devastated; Boleslas fled to Hungary, as several princes of southern Russia had done; and the more manly Waiwodes of Cracow and Sandomir, who, with a hastily collected army, endeavoured to oppose the progress of the Mongols, were defeated with great loss. No further resistance was there attempted. But the north-western provinces of Poland did not attract the conquerors, nor did these, as yet, assail the mountain barrier of Hungary. Moving onward, to the south-west, they poured into Silesia. And, now, first taking alarm, Germany called upon the Emperor for the help, she had been upon the point of affording him.

Whether the Silesian duchies were then Polish or German principalities, might be hard to say. The Dukes merely followed the example of the decidedly Polish Dukes, in paying little of either allegiance or homage to their kinsman, the Duke of Cracow; but they married German princesses; became daily more German in manners, feelings, and interests; and invited German and Flemish colonists to settle in their dominions, the latter, as manu-

facturers and agriculturists, the former as miners; Slavonian skill being then inadequate to extracting the mineral riches of the Silesian mountains. Both classes of colonists were every way favoured and encouraged; the bulk of the population, however, still consisting of the descendants of the original Poles, was Polish at heart.

Henry the Pious, the son of Henry the Bearded, and of the since canonized Hedwig, daughter of the Duke of Meran, and aunt of St. Elizabeth, was then Duke of Lower Silesia. He saw that upon his small duchy the storm must next burst, and prepared, as he best could, to meet it. He summoned subjects, kinsmen, and allies, to assemble round him at Liegnitz. His Poles and his German miners crowded to his standard. His cousin, Micislas Duke of Upper Silesia, and his nephew, Boleslas Margrave of Moravia, hurried to join him, with the forces they could gather upon the emergency, as did, under their *Heermeister*, Poppo, a small troop of Teutonic Knights<sup>(12)</sup>—all that could be spared from the separate conflicts of the Order—and some few German nobles with their vassals; whilst the King of Bohemia, arming hastily, though with less precipitation, promised to bring reinforcements, without delay, to Liegnitz. To the more distant Princes of the Empire, now at length roused, from their unaccountable apathy, to a sense of fast approaching danger, the Mongols left no time for affording assistance.

In the very beginning of April, 1241, the whole Horde of these Asiatic Barbarians, crossed the Oder and advanced upon Breslau. Part of the inhabitants fled; the rest took refuge in the castle; and the Mongols burnt the undefended town. Whether they did or did not attempt to besiege the castle seems doubtful;<sup>(13)</sup> not so, that they could have neither the means nor the knowledge requisite for conducting a siege; and that, leaving it untaken, they speedily proceeded towards Liegnitz. Here, Duke Henry, at the head of 30,000 men, all that he had as yet been able to draw together, awaited the savage host, variously estimated at from 200,000 to 450,000 men.

Earnestly was the Duke advised to remain within the walls of Liegnitz, thus avoiding an engagement, until reinforced, at least by Wenceslas and his Bohemians. But

Henry the Pious, a tender father of his people, was no experienced warrior; their sufferings, from the ravages of the Mongols, wrung his heart; and, forgetting that his defeat must increase those sufferings tenfold, he persisted in going forth, to do battle for their protection. As his army marched out of the town, a tile from the roof of a church fell at his feet. Those about him, seeing an inauspicious omen in the accident, again urged him to pause, and await the Bohemian succours, ere he engaged. But Henry, dauntless as pious, perhaps needed no omen to tell him that he led the forlorn hope of Western Europe; he had resolved upon his course, and he persevered.

His choice of a field of battle, like his haste to encounter the invaders, betrayed utter ignorance of the first rudiments of the military art. Upon an extensive plain, that gave the Mongols the full benefit of their tremendous numerical superiority, he met them; but his arrangements for the shock of war discovered more judgment. The Mongols did not, as might be imagined, trust wholly to their numbers; habitually employing stratagem to insure their victory. The stratagem being, however, always the same, was by this time sufficiently known to be guarded against. It consisted in sending forward a division of their host, which, after a short combat, pretended flight, luring the self-supposed victors, disordered by the ardour of pursuit, into the midst of their swarms, where they were at once surrounded and crushed without a possibility of resistance. Duke Henry, aware of this Mongol strategy, had earnestly warned all his leaders against being so deceived; whilst, as a further preventive, he divided his own army into several bodies, forbidden to attack simultaneously; so that, if one corps fell into the snare, still all would not be lost.

Upon the 9th of April, 1241, the armies met upon the ill-selected plain. Batu being absent, the command of the Mongols devolved upon Peta or Baydar, as the name is diversly given. He, whether in imitation of the Christian array, or that such was the Mongol practice, divided his host, likewise, into several bodies, each of which was superior in number to the whole force opposed to him; and one of these bodies he, as usual, sent forward to

attack. Boleslas, at the head of his Moravians, began the battle by gallantly encountering and defeating this body; but when his opponents fled, he, in the exultation of success, forgot all warnings, all predetermined caution: impetuously pursuing, he found himself, with his now disordered troops, in the very midst of the Mongol myriads, ready to exterminate assailants. All who were not fully protected by defensive armour, and many who were, including the Margrave himself, fell under the tempest of their blows and missile weapons. But, by the Duke's arrangement, the destruction of one division was not defeat; the whole army was, by this time, engaged, and fighting valiantly. Micislas, of Upper Silesia, hastened forward to receive and rally the fugitive Moravians, and still the fortune of the day was uncertain. The Mongols, unaccustomed to such resolute antagonists, were shaken; and Duke Henry's rashness seemed about to be crowned with victory, when Peta again had recourse to artifice. A Mongol, who had acquired some words of Slavonian, crept amongst the Christian ranks, and, in that language, shouted, "Fly! fly!"<sup>(14)</sup> The influence of such a cry, the fatally contagious nature of panic, are but too well known, and the utmost effect that could be hoped appears to have been produced. All who heard the words, fled. Duke Micislas, who saw the movement, without suspecting the cause, concluded that a retreat was ordered, and fell back, only Duke Henry, with his especial division, still fighting. But so determinately did they fight, that the Mongols, immeasurably superior in numbers, as they were, again had recourse to art. They were acquainted with some secret for producing sudden flames—possibly the Greek fire, which the Mongols might have brought with them, even from China. The Silesians are said to have been bewildered and terrified by the sudden appearance of a dragon, vomiting fire,<sup>(15)</sup> over the heads of their enemies. This would, in their eyes, be sorcery,—as such, probably irresistible; at least, a proof that they were struggling against the allies of the Powers of Evil. Even this division, therefore, now losing all self-possession, fled. The Duke was deserted by all, save the very few whom personal affection attached to his side. Preferring death to the

shame of retreat before barbarians, with these few he stood at bay, fighting on desperately, till each man lay a corse on the ground.

Again the Mongols were victorious; but a victory so obstinately disputed, and by a force comparatively so small, was even more unsatisfactory than new to them. They tried, nevertheless, to turn it to account. Cutting off the Duke's head, they fixed it upon a pole, and, displaying their bloody trophy before the walls of Liegnitz, summoned the citizens, upon this demonstration of their prince's death, to open their gates. But the newly-widowed Duchess, Anne, who, with her children, was there sheltered, and to whom the summons was reported, was congenial in spirit to her lost consort. She felt that death was far preferable to slavery amongst Barbarians. The answer she sent was: "If the Duke be slain, four princely heirs survive, whom the brave garrison and citizens of Liegnitz will defend to the last drop of their blood."

This was the very crisis of Germany's fate, perhaps of Europe's; unconscious as the wrangling, more western sovereigns seem still to have been, of the tremendous evils, hanging over them. Amazement, at the resolute tone of the heroic widow, deepened the impression made upon the Mongols, by the unwontedly high price, at which they had purchased their victory, over the despair of the heroic husband. And when, the next day, the King of Bohemia appeared with a new army, prepared to defend Liegnitz and oppose their advance westward, which would have brought them upon his kingdom, they abandoned their long steady movement in that direction, and turning to the South, ravaged Upper Silesia and Moravia in their passage. In Moravia, indeed, they again encountered more resistance than was agreeable to them; Margrave Jaroslaf, who had there succeeded to Boleslas, repulsed them from the vicinity of Olmutz, and, surprising their camp by night, slew some of their leaders. They hastened to resume their southward course, and now, despite the Carpathian barrier, poured into Hungary.

In eastern Europe the horrors of a Mongul invasion, and its imminence, were by this time pretty generally



appreciated; and preparations were there actively making for defence. They were equally appreciated by the Pope and the Emperor. Frederic, by letter, admonished all Christian kings and princes, of the urgency of their common danger, exhorting them to cooperate in averting it. Gregory ordered his Legates to preach a Crusade against these Heathen Barbarians; visiting, for that purpose, the more central and western regions, where the impending catastrophe seemed unthought of. The imperial letters and the Legates' preaching seem to have made little impression upon those, from whom the storm was still distant: and Lewis IX is said to have satisfied himself with the remark, that, if the Tartars came to France, either they would be sent back to their native Tartarus, or they would send the French, as martyrs, to Heaven.<sup>(16)</sup> Success was confined to those provinces where, from proximity to Silesia, the peril was felt imminent. In some Saxon states the whole population, men, women, and children, took the Cross. Conrad and his Counsellors convoked a Diet, to decide upon the most effective means of averting the impending evils; and at this Diet, he, and almost all the princes present, similarly took the Cross, protesting that they did so, not in obedience to a hostile Pope, but actuated solely by patriotic and religious motives. This anxiety to guard against any suspicion of yielding to papal commands was presently justified by the conduct of this little-Christian Head of Christendom. As though repenting of the one measure suited to that character, *i.e.* the publishing a Crusade against Heathen invaders who menaced the religion, as well as the lives and property of the people, he again concentrated his enmity upon the Emperor. Even at this moment, when only the union of all Christian realms seemed to offer a chance of preserving Christianity itself, and with it, all that had been acquired or recovered of knowledge and civilization, from extinction, the Pope accused the Emperor of exaggerating the danger, in order to raise an army, with which to attack the Holy See! Frederic actually dared not leave Italy at the mercy of such a successor of the Apostle, even to superintend the defence of his transalpine dominions, against the dreaded Mongols. He was fain to trust that defence to

the temporary union, which danger, and anger at the Papal pretensions, had produced among the German Princes, and to the instructions he had sent Conrad, for his conduct. The chief of these were to avoid pitched battles with the invaders (had Honourable III or Innocent III still occupied St. Peter's Chair, the Emperor's presence might have controlled Duke Henry, and the defeat of Liegnitz have been escaped) and to guard, as far as might be, by prohibiting all unnecessary consumption of corn, as in brewing and the like, against the famine that must be expected, as the consequence of such general devastation as marked the track of the Mongols,—who apparently desired to annihilate agriculture as well as towns, leaving open plains, like the steppes of Asia, for their herds of cattle.

The calamity of Hungary, however, afforded Germany a respite; and of this, although apparently but momentary, Albert Beham availed himself to urge the Princes of the Empire to support the Vicar of Heaven against the excommunicated Emperor, before turning their arms against the Asiatic savages, with whom the Hungarians were very able to deal. Whether this might or might not have been the case, had Bela, thus cruelly deserted, been suffered to follow out the course he had prescribed for himself, is a problem now insoluble; but he was not permitted so to act, and fearfully was Beham's assertion confuted.

Bela, in accordance with Frederic's plan of defence, avoided risking his whole force in a pitched battle; but in the eyes of the arrogant Magyars this was rank cowardice, as had been his endeavour to guard the Carpathian passes. So was it in the Duke of Austria's, when, conscious that he must be next attacked, he disregarded the Arch-deacon's exhortations, and hastened to the assistance of his neighbour. Many detached bodies were encountered and defeated by Frederic the Combative, who here displayed his accustomed headlong valour; and in one of these partial engagements with the enemy, he took, amongst other prisoners, two leaders. One of these proving to be a Kuman, he inferred that the abhorred Kumans had entered Hungary only to betray it to the Mongols—although half the nation remaining in Russia, subjects of the Mongols,

the captive probably belonged to that half: Duke Frederic and the Magyars with him, hereupon murdered the Khan of the Hungarian Kumans with his whole family, before Bela could interfere for their protection; and, most unaccountably, as though this supposed detection and punishment of Kuman perfidy, had averted all danger of Mongol conquest, and Hungary was rescued for a bulwark of Germany, the Austrians went home.

The Hungarians seemingly adopting this view, forgot the Mongols, to employ themselves in massacring Kumans; who therefore, instead of reinforcing Bela, against their own old enemies, were either fighting with his subjects, or seeking an asylum in Bulgaria. Bela, thus weakened, was compelled by his army to give battle, the result of which naturally was defeat and ruin. His family fled for shelter to Vienna; town after town fell, the country was laid waste, and the Mongols seemed to intend exterminating the inhabitants, in accordance rather with the original instructions of Gengis Khan—who pronounced compassion the characteristic of a weak mind—than with their late, less sanguinary, proceedings in Russia. The horrors perpetrated are sickening to record or to read of; but what was impending over Europe, what Gregory risked, rather than forego or postpone his vengeance upon the Emperor, ought to be known. The common practice was to divide the captured inhabitants into lots, according to their age and sex, when the men capable of bearing arms were cut down without a moment's delay. The greybeards were used as targets for practice; being ordered to hold up the left arm, whilst arrows were aimed at their hearts. The women and children were committed to the tender mercies of the Mongol women, who accompanied their husbands and fathers upon this awful migration. These female demons put all the young and good looking of their own sex, in whom they could apprehend rivals, to death, keeping the old and ugly as slaves, after first mangling them, as if for amusement. The children they obliged to sit down, armed their own progeny with clubs adapted to their strength, and, as a practical lesson, bade them beat out the brains of the infant prisoners. And happy might young and old, thus promptly butchered, esteem themselves!

For many were lingeringly tortured to death, that their agonies might divert the conquerors.

Numbers of Hungarians, abandoning all idea of resistance to these calamities, fled from them into Austria. The Duke is accused of having plundered these refugees, the royal family included, and constrained the men to take service under him. However detestable, if true, the first act laid to his charge, the second is excusable if not absolutely justifiable; since in his dominions, probably, was the next stand against the savage horde to be made. Bela himself now fled; and, after a short visit to Vienna sought shelter in the Dalmatian islands. The Dalmatians still boast their exemption from Mongol conquest;<sup>(17)</sup> the invaders, occupied, and, for the moment, content with ravaging Hungary, either not pursuing the fugitive King, or making an inroad so slight, as to be easily repelled. From this asylum, Bela applied to Pope and Emperor for aid, which he offered to repay by holding Hungary in vassalage of the imperial crown. An offer little calculated to obtain the solicited Crusade-bull against the Mongols.

Bela's petition found Italy convulsed by the civil war, which left the Pope and the Emperor no more leisure now, to oppose the devastation of Hungary by the Mongols, than previously, to strive against their ravages in provinces more interesting to Frederic; to wit, Silesia and Moravia. He had no means of succouring Bela, beyond the exertions which he had directed the German government to make for the occasion; and could only inforce, by repeating, those directions. In addition to the military calls upon his time and thoughts, the Emperor was much occupied and troubled by the convocation of the Council. The Pope's epistles and the exertions of his Legates, had, throughout Europe, been, for the most part, more influential with the clergy, than the imperial admonitions. In the very opening of the year 1241, Cardinal Otho, a son of the Marquess of Montferrat, but, despite his relationship to the Emperor and the renewed Ghibelinism of his family, a Guelph, left England, bringing Gregory both a considerable sum of money, again extorted from the English Clergy, and as many English prelates,<sup>(18)</sup> as he could persuade to accompany him, for the express purpose of

dethroning their Sovereign's brother-in-law. The Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina, who, if he had failed at the French Court, had succeeded in obtaining, from the French clergy, both pecuniary contributions and members for the Council, set out at the head of a large company, taking his way by Nice. Cardinal Montelonga, upon hearing of their progress, quitted the scene of his easier labours, Lombardy, and hastened to Genoa, there to announce that the Pope had explicitly forbidden the prelates to traverse Italy, lest they should fall into Frederic's hands;—he more dreaded their having an amicable interview with him;—and therefore, by arguments, promises, and if necessary, menaces, to procure from the Republic the loan of a fleet, for the conveyance of the Fathers of the Church to the mouth of the Tiber.

The Emperor, learning the route of the Cardinals with their detachments of prelates, now adopted a more dignified and manly, if less argumentative line of conduct. He sent messengers to the intended members of the Council, to exhort or entreat them (Matthew Paris says, "modestly and humbly"), not to embark at Genoa, but to prosecute their journey by land, and visit him on their way; thus to afford him an opportunity of explaining the falsehood of the accusations brought against him, as well as the various other injuries, done him by the Pope. They were to add, that, in case of the Prelates' compliance, the Emperor would not only guarantee, in whatever way they pleased, the safety of their whole journey, but pledge himself unhesitatingly to obey whatever decision they, having heard both sides, should pronounce. But that, if refusing this fair offer, they endeavoured to reach Rome by sea, without hearing his statements, as he must hold them enemies, his fleets would seek to intercept them; and should they chance to escape capture, he would never submit to a verdict pronounced upon hearing one side only. The prelates, under the influence of the Cardinals, refused to trust the promises of an excommunicated man, and adhered to their original intention.

But not yet did the Emperor remit his endeavours to prevent this hostile course. Pisa, by his desire, sent an embassy to Genoa, to remonstrate with her great rival upon lending her fleet to convey prelates, so determinately

prejudiced against their sovereign, in order to constitute an unfair Council; and, further, to intimate, that if she should, Pisa would be under the painful necessity of endeavouring to prevent the vessels from reaching their destination. The Genoese repulsed the warning as an insult, and Gregory, whose chief fear seems to have been an interview between the Emperor and the future Fathers of the Council, triumphed. But now Frederic ordered his Apulian and Sicilian fleets, under the command of his son Enzo and of the Grand-Admiral of Sicily, Ansaldo di Mare, to unite with the Pisan, under Ugolino Buzachérini, and, if possible, intercept the inimical prelates. The certain imminence of the threatened danger was speedily reported at Genoa, where the prelates still awaited more of their brethren, and occasioned no little commotion there. Many of the reverend fathers were alarmed and turned back, even from this advanced stage of their journey. And, when it was generally known in Genoa, that the Podestà had actually signed a convention with Cardinal Montelunga for the conveyance of those who persevered, an insurrection, provoked by fear of the Imperial arms, broke out. But in a city so innately Guelph, this was speedily quelled.

Civil and maritime authorities joined with the ecclesiastical, in persuading themselves that the Emperor could have no naval force equal to confronting the Genoese; and that even if he had, upon the wide sea there could be no difficulty in avoiding his cruisers. Trusting to these opinions, the prelates, upon the 25th of April, scarcely more than a fortnight after the fatal defeat of the Christians at Liegnitz, in the magnificent bay of Genoa, amidst the acclamations of half the city, stepped on board a fleet of thirty sail. Prior to making Porto Venere they were met by the unlooked for news, that the combined fleets of the Sicilies and of Pisa, consisting, the former of twenty-seven, the latter of forty vessels, lay in wait for them near Meloria, a small rocky island not far from Porto Pisano. Doubts and fears, before unthought of, and consequent dissensions now arose. The prelates looked to speed as offering the best chance of escaping the Imperialists. Many of the Genoese Captains were for taking shelter in

Porto Venere, until joined by the reinforcements then in process of equipment at Genoa. Others proposed to elude the Imperialists by steering away to the west; thus, circuitously, to reach Ostia or Civit  Vecchia, whilst the Imperialists were scouring the Mediterranean in search of them. But all these, more or less judicious, plans were overruled by the Admiral, Guglielmo Ubriacchi, who, as if to prove the figurative, if not the literal fitness of his name (anglic , drunkard) to his character,<sup>(19)</sup> disregarding alike the disparity of numbers, the terrors of his reverend and unwarlike passengers, and the importance to the Guelph cause of their safe arrival, insisted upon giving battle. He was quickly gratified; the first rumour of his vicinity bringing forth his antagonists to meet him.

Upon the 3rd of May, the hostile fleets engaged off Meloria, and, as was to be expected from the immense disparity of numbers, thirty against sixty-seven, the Genoese suffered a total defeat. Three of their ships foundered with their ecclesiastical freight, twenty-two were taken with theirs, and only five, escaping by flight, carried theirs off safe. Three Cardinals—Otho of Montferrat, Gregorio de Montelonga, and the Bishop of Palestrina, though whether all three were already cardinals is questioned—the Archbishops of Rouen, Bordeaux, and Besan on—the last, as a Burgundian prelate, a vassal of the Empire—the Bishops of Agde, Carcassonne, Nismes, Tortona, and Pavia, were amongst the prisoners, with many abbots, and deputies from Lombard cities. No names of English prelates occur in this list; nor does Henry III appear to have made, like Lewis IX, any demand for the release of English captives; <sup>(20)</sup> whence may be inferred that, their original reluctance being increased by the unwonted difficulties of the journey, how much soever they had prepared for them, they either formed part of the band that turned back from Genoa, or at least lingered in that neighbourhood, to await the result of their brethren's embarkation.<sup>(21)</sup>

The prisoners, both ecclesiastics and laymen, were carried by the victorious fleet to Naples, and there closely confined; but so roughly are they said to have been handled by the sailors—who, as their Emperor's bitter

enemies, hated them—that they felt their *terra firma* prison a happy asylum. Here, their treatment appears to have been regulated by the greater or less degree of animosity they discovered towards the Emperor: some of the most fiercely inimical are said to have been murdered, either by violence or by starvation.<sup>(22)</sup> That Frederic was, by this time, thoroughly exasperated against Gregory and his creatures, there can be no doubt; as little, that, in those days, the servants of absolute monarchs would, far more than now, serve the passions of their masters, beyond even those masters' wishes; and that human life was not then much respected. Still, as no names of the slain are given, and the Cardinals who had been most virulently active against him will be found uninjured, this accusation seems to class itself amongst the ever-recurring exaggerations of faction. Other prelates, on their way to Rome, turned back upon hearing of their brethren's disaster; the Council was thus indefinitely postponed, and the Pope's enmity towards the Emperor envenomed.

Lewis of France immediately demanded the release of his prelates, who could not, he urged, be considered as enemies to the Emperor; since, even if the Pope had acted unbecomingly, the charges, advanced by his Legates against the Emperor, had been constantly repelled by the French Court. Frederic replied, that he was justified in considering and treating as enemies those who, when invited to judge him, refused to hear his defence; and, for the present, he detained the French prelates with his other captives.

The victory at sea was quickly followed by one on land, which the army of Pavia gained over the Milanese, 350 of whom they made prisoners, with their banners and implements of war. In the Estates of the Church the Imperial forces were equally successful, taking one town after another, till at length Rome was well nigh blockaded by them.

The Emperor himself was then in Sicily, where, about this time, he was visited by an English brother-in-law, Richard Earl of Cornwall, who, upon his return from a crusading expedition to Palestine, landed at Palermo, to see his sister, the Empress Isabella. The Earl was



cordially received and magnificently entertained; being himself a troubadour of some reputation, he was a congenial as well as welcome guest, at the literary, if luxuriously gay, Imperial court. Quickly conceiving both a high esteem and a warm affection for his able and friendly brother-in-law, he eagerly undertook to effect his reconciliation with Gregory. As the brother of Henry III—a monarch so implicitly obedient to the Pope—and as a Crusader, he felt himself entitled to influence, at Rome; not to be destroyed even by his having performed his vow in the Holy Land, when the Pope, still trusting Jerusalem to the Mongols, required all Crusaders to turn their arms against his personal enemy. Thus, in full confidence of success, since Frederic desired only what was equitable, the Earl visited the Holy Father. But the Romans, being at the moment upon good terms with their pontifical sovereign, received him with insult and mockery; and Gregory, more incensed than ever by the defeat of his intended subservient Council, denounced the capture of the prelates as a flagrant crime, and declared, that he could now listen to no proposal from the Emperor, short of an actual surrender at discretion. The Earl of Cornwall returned in great wrath to the Court of Frederic, who merely observed, that he was glad his brother-in-law was now satisfied of the Pope's inveterate hatred for himself.

This was about the last occasion upon which that hatred could be displayed. The vicinity of the victorious Imperial troops prevented Gregory from leaving Rome during the sultry months; and the *mal aria* there prevalent in summer, combining with vexation at Frederic's triumph, and, perhaps, with consciousness of his own unbecoming supineness even in sight of the all-destroying Mongols, proved too much for a frame burthened with nearly a hundred years, and suffering under one of the most painful diseases to which humanity is liable; if indeed at that age it be necessary to seek extraneous causes of death. Upon the 21st of August, 1241, Gregory IX—incomparable as ever in spirit, after causing an encyclical epistle to be addressed to the faithful children of the Church, exhorting them not to be depressed by seeming misfortune—expired.

The Emperor, when the tidings of this event reached him, declared that, his dissensions having been with the Pope, not with the Holy See, and entirely the result of Gregory's idiosyncrasy, his wrongs would, he was convinced, be immediately redressed by an upright pontiff; and suspended hostilities. He now despatched Enzo, with 4000 horsemen, to assist Conrad against the Mongols, and withdrew the remainder of his forces into his own dominions. It may, at the first blush, seem extraordinary that he did not immediately hasten to Germany, to direct in person the defensive war against those terrible barbarians. But he felt that he had given Conrad an efficient coadjutor and guide in his gallant son Enzo; a youthful veteran, in whose abilities he had perfect confidence; and who, as he could have no separate interest, must gain more influence over his brother than the ablest, merely vassal-prince. And when the evils he himself individually, as well as his realms, had suffered from the enmity of the deceased Pope are considered, it is evident that whilst a matter so momentous, as the selection of the spiritual Head of Christendom was in suspense, he must needs be unwilling to cross the Alps.

The Cardinals, who had been present with Gregory at his death, were, by the Roman Senator and people concurrently, immediately shut up in Conclave. But, being few in number, they entreated the Emperor to release their captive brethren, that the award of a larger body might give more validity to the impending election. Those captive Cardinals had shown themselves the especial enemies of the Emperor, and their imprisonment was not likely to have softened their hostility. Yet he immediately complied with a request—of which he probably felt the justice—simply requiring each Cardinal individually to pledge himself to return to his prison when the election should be over, unless chosen Pope.<sup>(23)</sup>

Of the ten Cardinals now forming the Conclave, five voted for Cardinal Goffredo Castiglione, a Milanese, nephew to Urban III, and three for Cardinal Romano. The agreement of two thirds of the Cardinals, in Conclave assembled, being indispensable to a valid election, neither of these was such, and both were, accordingly, disclaimed by

the Romans. But however invalid the elections, Cardinal Otho thought himself bound by his word to return to his prison upon their announcement; and so pleased was the Emperor with this scrupulously honourable conduct, that forgetting all past hostility, he treated him thenceforward with confidence and respect. In regard to the double election itself, he decidedly objected to Cardinal Romano, upon several grounds; such as, that he had instigated and fomented the dissensions between the late Pope and himself, that he had persecuted the University of Paris, and that he had insulted the Queen of France with solicitations, peculiarly indecent in an ecclesiastic, &c. The Cardinals remaining in Conclave, meanwhile, pressed by the discomfort of their position, and by fear of the impatient Romans, on the 16th of October, concentrated the requisite number of suffrages upon Castiglione. He was proclaimed and acknowledged Pope, by the name of Celestin IV. If the other Cardinals were out upon parole, they, like Otho, now returned to prison.

Celestin IV, though in comparison with his predecessor hardly to be called old, was far advanced in life, and whether he would have realized Frederic's professed expectations from an upright Pope, time was not allowed him to show. Scarcely had he consecrated a few bishops, and performed some other urgently needed papal functions, ere he sank under the addition of excitement and business to the burden of years. Upon the 2nd of November, after a pontificate of seventeen days, he expired. The Cardinals, dreading a repetition of their recent annoyances, fled from Rome before the event was generally known; and again, upon the former conditions, Frederic permitted his captives to attend the Conclave. But without those annoyances which the Princes of the Church had avoided, the requisite degree of unanimity seemed to be unattainable: neither during the remainder of the current year, nor in the whole course of the next, could two thirds of the votes be united upon one individual.

That this long papal interregnum (to use an analogical if inaccurate word,) should prove as favourable to the recovery of lay supremacy, as the contest for the empire had been to the establishment of ecclesiastical domination,

might well be expected. But, either from a genuine religious reluctance to be the aggressor in such a quarrel, or from conviction that if he were so, he must incur the reprobation and enmity of Christendom, the Emperor did not thus profit by the opportunity. Professing friendship for the Holy See, and a fixed determination to act as its official guardian, whilst helpless, because vacant, he quietly awaited the issue of the Conclave's deliberations. That he equally neglected the opportunity relatively to the Lombards, making no attempt to crush their insurrection whilst destitute of papal support, leaving the war with them wholly to Ezzelino, seems more extraordinary in so sagacious a statesman: and the historian looks round for a probable cause. The only one offering is, that in those days of small armies, whose chief strength lay in their cavalry, the absence of Enzo with his 4000 horsemen, may have so reduced Frederic's force, as imperatively to require his limiting his military operations to the prosecution of the war with Genoa: a war best carried on by sea, the situation of the city and its territories—guarded and well nigh encircled by the Apennines—rendering an attack by land very difficult. The indefatigable activity of his Grand-Admiral, Ansaldo di Mare, incessantly harassed, not only the Genoese navy but the Genoese coast; which, the moment he had driven or lured away the protecting ships, he visited and ravaged. He thus penetrated into the very harbour of Genoa, destroyed the merchant vessels there lying, and escaped before the returning Genoese fleet could surprise him in that hazardous position. The fruit of these brilliant exploits was the securing to the Emperor, jointly with Pisa, the command of that part of the Mediterranean, and the suzerainty over Enzo's kingdom of Sardinia.

Neither was the opportunity altogether neglected with respect to Lombardy. Whilst throughout Italy Frederic gained ground, Ezzelino was extending his own dominions, at the expense of the House of Este, and strengthening his power by a severity, which, if measured by the standard of the nineteenth century, becomes unscrupulous cruelty. For instance, he put the young Conte di Panego to death, without trial, upon an accusation of having sold

Verona to the Lombard League; and an architect, whose offer to build him dungeons and torture chambers, more horrible than had yet been devised, he had accepted, he—as a classic tyrant of antiquity had done before him—made the first sufferer from his own hateful ingenuity. In Tuscany, the Imperialists were decidedly the masters. At Bologna, a Ghibeline faction was beginning to create disturbances, though inefficacious. Imola and Fano, openly deserting the republican confederation, declared for the Emperor, who rewarded their conversion with divers rights and privileges. Milan, his most inveterate enemy, distracted and enfeebled by the internal contentions of all classes with each other, was at this time unable to oppose him. The nobles, appearing lukewarm republicans to the industrial portion of the community, were fiercely attacked by all the non-noble; who again were disunited among themselves, the ultra-democratic small shopkeepers being dissatisfied with all above them. Combining together, therefore, they constituted themselves the Association of St. Augustine, thus to resist and control all who had any share in the government. The superior portion of traders thereupon formed an opposition Society, entitled *La Mota*, equally hostile to the nobility. And now was Milan often rather distracted than governed with two Podestàs—each party electing its own, each with his own set of officers—until in 1240, Pagano della Torre being elected Capitano del Popolo, democracy gained the ascendancy. A contest for the vacant archiepiscopal see, increasing after the tumults, ended somewhat whimsically. Wearied with contention, all parties agreed, as a compromise, to intrust the choice of their prelate to a Minorite Friar, influential through his sanctity, his eloquence, and yet more through his ultra-Guelphism, Fra Leone da Perugia: when, to the general amazement, the Friar nominated himself: chusing well. These disorders, if they weakened Milan's powers of insurgency against the Emperor, interfered not with the wars she waged against her neighbours; individual petty passions being, in these cases, more keenly excited. If the haughty city, yielding to necessity, had made peace with Pavia, she was actively engaged in hostilities with Como.

Any exultation in which Frederic might have indulged upon his deliverance from his inveterate enemy, Gregory IX, and the advancement of his interests in Italy, was damped by domestic afflictions. In the closing week of the year 1241, he lost the Empress Isabella—apparently much the best beloved of his royal wives—who expired in giving birth to a daughter; and little more than a month afterwards, on the 12th of the following February, died his guilty eldest son, King Henry. Respecting the manner of this death, writers differ. Boccaccio, who, if not a contemporary, lived so near these times as to be something of an authority,—he was born A.D. 1313—says that Frederic, judging his first-born sufficiently punished, now summoned him to his presence, intending to pardon and liberate him; but that Henry, uninformed of the paternal design, in the terror of his father's continued wrath, looked to death as an escape. Therefore, watching his opportunity, he flung himself from a bridge that he was crossing with his escort, and was drowned. Giannone, on the other hand, writing four or five centuries later, but from documents unknown to Boccaccio, says, that he died in prison; and this account, which most historians follow, best agrees with probability; the election of Conrad seeming to preclude the intention of setting so formidable a rival, as a legally elected and acknowledged elder brother, at liberty. Yet the heart of the parent, softened by his recent bereavement, might deeply feel and wish to alleviate the doom incurred by his criminal offspring; whose death, whether natural or suicidal, he appears to have deeply regretted. As evidence of such regret, he issued a singular proclamation, in which he first apologizes at some length for being overpowered with sorrow at the death of an undeserving son, pleads parental affection in excuse, and ends thus: "Therefore do I command, that, throughout my empire, masses for his soul be said, and all the hallowed rites of mourning be observed; and as my faithful subjects cordially rejoice with me in all my joys, so may they now prove their hearty sympathy with me in my grief."

About this time the Emperor was solicited by the Palestine Barons, to appoint Simon de Montfort, Earl of

Leicester, who had insinuated himself into their good graces during a Crusade, Regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem, until Conrad should be of age to assume the government. But Frederic had no inclination to intrust so important an office to any alien, least of all to a son of the despoiler of the Earls of Toulouse.

In Germany the succours brought by Enzo had been much wanted, and proved very effective. No sooner was the pressure of instant danger removed, by the diversion of the Mongols to the destruction, rather than subjugation, of Hungary, than the zeal of the German princes relaxed. And only, when from devastated Hungary the fierce Horde fell upon Austria, had a crusading army assembled to withstand the impending ruin. This army Enzo joined, with his cavalry; and, under his guidance, Conrad led the united forces to encounter the Mongols, as they pursued their desolating course up the Danube. Being now in sufficient strength, he gave them battle, and gained a victory that determined them to fall back upon Hungary. Austria was once more free; and though the Barbarians remained masters of the adjoining kingdom, showing themselves savage as ever, the general impression seems to have been, that the victory was, and must be, decisive; that the Mongols were finally repulsed, and Germany was safe. The Princes of the Empire at once returned home, the Crusaders, dispersing, did the same, and those most exposed were left to ward off the evil as they might.

Even whilst the Mongols were overrunning Austria, and threatening the rest of Germany, Albert Beham was authoritatively inculcating upon all who would listen to him, that insurrection against the Emperor, the first of duties, was far more imperative than resistance to the savage invaders. He thus completely and irrecoverably alienated most Germans, from himself and his office. Vague suspicions of some ulterior, nefarious design being now conceived, his letters to the Papal Court were intercepted, produced at a Ratisbon Diet, and when publicly read, were found to contain calumnies of his principal protector, Duke Otho. The ducal protection being now—if it had not previously, when the legatine-Archdeacon's preaching ex-

cited disorders in Bavaria, been—withdrawn, the firebrand and his partisans were laid under the ban of the Empire. Protection, however, he still found, and that in the Bavarian Castle of Wasserburg; but in it he was besieged and taken. After such public proceedings, it seems strange to add, that his end is involved in obscurity; but such is the fact. Some accounts make the vindictive Duke of Bavaria put him at once to a cruel death; some let him effect his escape, after an imprisonment, respecting the length of which historians differ; some describe his subsequent seizure by the citizens of Passau, whilst imprudently traversing a town where he was so well known, and being there flayed alive; and finally others place him, years afterwards, under the wing of a pontiff, far more unscrupulous than Gregory IX, to wit, Innocent IV. But, whatever were the fate of Beham, his last offence effectually recalled the Duke of Bavaria from his newly embraced Guelphism to the grateful loyalty of his race.<sup>(24)</sup>

With respect to the Mongols, in 1242 they again invaded Austria, and threatened Vienna. But the emergency roused all neighbouring Crusaders, who hastened to swell the ranks of the army, which Conrad and Enzo, again accompanied by the princes of eastern Germany, led to support the Duke. He himself, alarmed by the continuous occupation of Hungary, had remained in a defensive attitude; and, under the walls of Vienna, the combined forces met the invaders. The Horde was there defeated, yet more thoroughly than the preceding year; and the reiterated lesson proved efficacious. Driven back into Hungary, they did not again venture to attack any German province; but Hungary groaned through very many more months, under their ravages, and the natural consequence, famine.



## CHAPTER XII.

### FREDERIC II.

*Election of Innocent IV—Negotiations—Innocent's Flight—Hostility to the Emperor—Affairs of the East—Position of Christians and Mohammedans—Minor Crusades—Kharismians—Mongols.* [1242—1245.]

THE unaccustomed delay in filling the vacated Chair of St. Peter, had now begun to astonish and dissatisfy Europe. The Cardinals imputed this dilatoriness in performing their most important function, partly to the inconvenience of being absent from Rome—the Conclave sat at Anagni, which they represented as, not their own act, but a compulsory escape from Roman violence—chiefly however, to the incompleteness of their body, through the Emperor's imprisoning, amongst the Fathers of the intended Council, some members of the Conclave. This last allegation—even supposing that their Eminences thought more of their own exculpation than of strict veracity—is somewhat perplexing. The Cardinal of Palestrina is the only member of the Conclave whom there seems to be any reason—and that doubtful<sup>(25)</sup>—for supposing detained in custody by Frederic; and that the absence of a single Cardinal—if real—should be made so important, is, at least, strange. Or could a release upon parole be considered a moral imprisonment, a duresse nullifying votes?

But, whatever the plea, upon which the Conclave chose to transfer the blame of procrastination from itself to the Emperor, the light in which the accusation was regarded generally, or even by the devout Lewis IX, is by no means certain. A letter, addressed in that Sovereign's name to the Princes of the Church, is indeed extant, in

which, after rebuking them for thus long keeping Christendom without the Spiritual Head so greatly needed, he promises them, and the Pope they shall elect, his protection against any monarch, who should aspire to unite the incompatible spiritual and temporal sovereignties. But critical inquirers entertain great doubts of the genuineness of this letter; the tenor of which, in regard to the Emperor, is little consonant with the sainted King's previous or subsequent conduct, towards his brother Sovereign. He might, however, think the encouragement, afforded by slightly disguising his real sentiments, indispensable to the Cardinals; and he might just then be indisposed to a favourable view of Frederic's proceedings, by anger at the seemingly causeless, protracted detention of the French prelates, captured at Meloria, whose liberation he had vainly demanded; whilst there assuredly was some reason to suppose that a monarch, so cruelly persecuted by one Pope, would hardly promote the election of another. There is, nevertheless, in Frederic's conduct, nothing to justify such a suspicion. He was constantly urging the Cardinals to fix their choice; and, in 1242, he nearly, if not quite, annihilated the plea, for their complaints of himself as the real impediment to an election, by setting almost all the captive prelates at liberty. But neither this removal of the alleged principal obstacle, nor the exhortations of the new Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order, Gerhard von Malberg, whom he sent to urge the performance of this momentous duty, had any perceptible effect in expediting the movements of the Conclave; and the Emperor now addressed a rebuke, sharper than the French King's, to the Cardinals. He explicitly taxed them, with grudging each other the exaltation that each desired for himself; and, little heeding, amidst this selfish strife, the perils to which they were exposing the Church, the souls committed to their care, and Christendom's self. This epistle proving as inefficacious as Lewis's, Frederic now, as a coercive process, invaded the Estates of the Church; where, in the course of the summer and autumn, he took several towns; but still their Eminences deliberated, apparently unmoved. He then turned his arms against the possessions of individual

Cardinals ; and this measure was not without influence. The Conclave petitioned the Emperor to withdraw his troops, promising to elect a Pope without further delay. The Emperor complied ; but the hesitation of the Conclave was not at an end. The spring of 1243 passed away ; the summer began, and still Christendom was without a Spiritual Head. Not till the latter end of June was the Cardinals' promise fulfilled, and Sinibaldo Fiesco, Conte di Lavagna, and Cardinal of San Lorenzo, proclaimed Pope, by the name of Innocent IV.

The family of the Fieschi belongs to the nobility of Genoa ; but, as descending from the vassal-sovereigns of Bavaria, and therefore ranking with the Princes of the Empire, looks down upon those nominal compeers. Sinibaldo, the fifth son of Conte Ugo, had been educated in all the general learning of the times, as well as specifically for the Church. Civil and canon law he had studied at Bologna, under the most celebrated professors of that flourishing University ; and was distinguished alike for legal and theological science. He was renowned not only as a friend and patron of the learned, but as having fixed his own rank amongst them, by COMMENTARIES upon the DECRETALS, and by EXPOSITIONS of some parts of the BIBLE. Cardinal Ugolino, when commissioned to mediate a peace between Pisa and Genoa, found him so able and, though a Genoese, so impartial an assistant, that Honorius III, then Pope, recompensed his services with the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See ; and Cardinal Ugolino himself, when, as Gregory IX, he succeeded Honorius, immediately created him Cardinal of San Lorenzo in Lucina ; habitually availing himself of his abilities, in all thorny and tangled negotiations ; provided they were not inimical to the Emperor. The Fieschi being so thoroughly Ghibeline, that one branch of the family had quitted Genoa solely to avoid the Guelphism of their native city ; domiciliating themselves at Parma, then eminently loyal. Individually, the Cardinal of San Lorenzo had ever been a zealous adherent of the Emperor, and, as such, highly favoured by him.

Great, therefore, was the joy which the tidings of Cardinal Fiesco's election diffused through the Imperial

Court, and glowing were the congratulations offered to the Sovereign upon the accession of a friendly Pope, under whose pontificate all difficulties and annoyances must needs disappear. Frederic, clearer sighted than his courtiers and ministers, as to the character, whether of the man or of the papacy, shook his head, as he replied, "Rather lament that I have lost a powerful friend in the College of Cardinals. No Pope can be a Ghibeline." But this answer was given only to his most trusted councillors, prudence requiring the concealment of this conviction. He wrote to divers princes, expressing his hopes that peace in the Church would be the fruit of Cardinal Sinibaldo's election. He ordered public thanksgivings for this result of the Conclave's deliberations, which he celebrated by a grand festival. He sent an embassy, composed of his most distinguished vassals and ministers, as the Teutonic Grand-Master, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Grand-Admiral Ansaldo di Mare, Pietro delle Vigne, and Taddeo da Suessa, the Apulian Grand-Judge, to congratulate the new Pope upon his election, and to negotiate the revocation of the anathema under which he lay, together with the restoration of peace between the two Heads of Christendom. They were likewise bearers of an autograph letter from the Emperor, expressing his hope that he should now find in the Church no longer a stepmother, but a genuine parent; to whom, in that trust, he proffered filial love and duty, hailing the name, Innocent, as an auspicious omen, auguring the reign of peace, justice and friendship, between the Papedom and the Empire.

But Frederic's secret fears, not his professed hopes, were prophetic, and the name chosen was an omen, far less auspicious than it might seem. The new Pope meant to show that he took Innocent III, as his prototype; but he imitated him only in his ambition, and his determination to exalt the papal above all temporal sovereignty. He was, in truth, a caricature of the faults of that really great, and, despite his errors, virtuous, pontiff; destitute of his excellences, of his personal disinterestedness, of his conscientiousness, and, above all, of his pure and lofty, if impracticable, views of papal sovereignty. The am-

bition of Innocent IV was of coarser kind, aggressive and worldly in character, like Gregory VII's; unsusceptible of the spiritual tone distinguishing Innocent III's, even when directed to temporal acquisitions. Moreover, in opposition to both those Popes, the ambition of Innocent IV, was wholly for the Pope, not for the Church; and he oppressed the clergy, nearly as much as he endeavoured to oppress princes.

The Imperial mission crossed, upon the road, a Papal mission to the Emperor, bearing analogous professions of good will, thinly veiling those altered views that Frederic apprehended. Innocent IV, anxious for the peace of Christendom, paternally invited Frederic II, to say, what satisfaction he proposed making to the Church, for his offences against her; and indulgently added, that, should Frederic deny that he was in fault, fancying the Church had wronged him, though this was manifestly impossible, the Pope would frankly call upon all Christian Kings and Princes, to assemble and judge between them; when he would accept whatever terms of reconciliation they should pronounce just, provided every friend of the Church were included in the treaty.

When the negotiation really began, even these paternal professions melted away, and little prospect of a reconciliation appeared. The Imperial Envoys had complaints to make, instead of any specific satisfaction to offer; and Innocent, instead of inviting a congress of sovereigns to judge between himself and the Emperor, required the latter, as a preliminary, to evacuate the Papal dominions, and submit his differences with the Lombards unreservedly to his own arbitration. The Imperial Envoys observed that Frederic had already taken the initiative in conciliation, by freely releasing all the captured prelates, and, instead of finding his liberality reciprocated, saw his faithful vassal, Salinguerra, who was accused of nothing but loyalty, still pining in exile and prison; whilst, with respect to the Lombards, when his differences with them were before unreservedly submitted to a Pope's arbitration, the umpire had not previously, by pronouncing or maintaining a sentence of excommunication against the Emperor, shown himself his enemy; and yet, even then, had the arbitra-

tion been unfair. The Pope urged that he was pledged not to treat for peace separately from his allies, the Lombards; the Envoys rejoined, that rebellious vassals must be judged by their peers, the Estates of the Empire, before their liege Lord, the Emperor, could treat with them. The Pope doubted, whether the Lombards were so completely vassals of the Empire, as to require such a course; and the Envoys received the doubt as an insult to their Sovereign.

Baldwin II, of Constantinople, and Raymond VII, of Toulouse, uninvited, interposed their good offices, in the hope of softening the Pope. The Earl felt that the enormous sacrifices made by his father and himself to conciliate the Church, entitled him to some consideration on her part, and Baldwin was under obligation to Frederic. He had endeavoured to take advantage of a war between Vatazes and the other Greek Princes, by proposing to Kai Khosrou, Sultan of Iconium, an offensive alliance against the neighbour of the one, the rival—for the Eastern Empire—of the other. The Sultan, whose mother was a Greek Christian, declared himself well disposed to such an alliance, provided that a Christian Princess were, as a preliminary, given him to wife—apparently a taste of the Iconium Seljuks<sup>(26)</sup>—pledging his word for her enjoying the free exercise of her religion, with all necessary attendance of priests, &c. And he further promised, in consideration of such a marriage, to place his Christian subjects under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Baldwin, having no daughter of fitting age, requested his sister and her husband, Eudes de Montaigne, to send him one of theirs, through whom he might become the Moslem Sultan's uncle and ally; and he entreated the pious mother of the pious Lewis IX, to influence them to comply with his request. Again, no repugnance to the connexion appears; but, whilst this treaty was pending, Vatazes had made peace with his compatriot foes, and was pressing Baldwin so closely, that the imperilled Byzantine Emperor, unable to await its result, had no immediate resource, save obtaining, through Frederic's intervention, a year's truce from Vatazes. This respite he had employed, in visiting western Europe, there

to seek the assistance requisite for the preservation of his throne; and he saw that, whilst the Pope should be engrossed by his quarrel with the German Emperor, such assistance was unattainable. His interest, therefore, combining with gratitude for Frederic's mediation, he zealously endeavoured to effect their reconciliation. But his efforts, and those of the Earl of Toulouse, were fruitless. Innocent grew more and more unyielding, as his intrigues, in the cities that had either been conquered by, or declared in favour of, Frederic, ripened.

Amongst these towns, Viterbo, which the Emperor, during a brief sojourn, had captivated by his majestic courtesy, and to which he had by charter granted unusually large rights and privileges, seemed the most firmly attached to him. But even there, the Bishop, Cardinal Rainiero Capocci, had created, or revived, a factious Guelph spirit, which he was gradually extending. At his instigation, complaints of oppression by the Governor, Simone di Theano, were addressed to the Emperor; who, alive to the importance of conciliating Viterbo, without inquiring into the justice or injustice of the complaints, appointed the Conte di Caserta to supersede him. But before Caserta could arrive to take his place, Capocci had succeeded in provoking a Guelph outbreak. Theano was suddenly accused of threatening to destroy the town; was attacked by the factious, defeated, compelled to shut himself up in the castle, and there besieged. Caserta, who had been prepared only for the peaceable occupation of an office peaceably resigned to him by his predecessor, learning upon his road what had happened, felt that he, with only his small escort, was unable to relieve Theano. He requested reinforcements of the Emperor, and halted to await them. Frederic brought them in person, and the Cardinal, whose utmost efforts the castle still defied, taking fright at the idea of the Emperor's presence, entreated the Patriarch of Antioch to interpose, and, upon the plea of Theano's tyranny, appease, if possible, the Imperial resentment. The Patriarch replied, that the plea was worthless, inasmuch as the Emperor had already, upon their complaint, superseded Theano, before the Viterbans took the redress of their supposed grievances into their

own hands, and declined to interfere. The Cardinal then sought help from Innocent, who, unprepared as yet for an open breach with Frederic, would not publicly countenance such proceedings; but, by a secret pecuniary supply, enabled him to raise troops for the defence of Viterbo. With the means of paying, Cardinal Capocci procured recruits from the veriest rabble of Rome—Ghibeline as Rome then professed herself—as well as from the vagabonds and ruffians of the neighbourhood.

Frederic appeared before Viterbo at the head of an army; but, being far more anxious to relieve Theano and his troops, who might, he feared, be starved in the castle, than to punish the mutineers, he offered liberal terms of capitulation. The Cardinal, now confident in his numbers, made the Viterbans believe these offers perfidious, and their destruction predetermined. They therefore rejected the Emperor's clemency. A desperate assault was the answer to this rejection; it was as desperately resisted, and ultimately repulsed. The siege was now regularly formed, and all the improvements, to which military engineering had yet attained, were brought into play on both sides. The besiegers filled the ditch with fascines, which enabled them to bring the moveable towers and their scaling ladders on wheels, close up to the walls, over which they threw Greek fire—here seemingly, first employed by western Europeans—and to station carts laden with combustibles almost in contact with the gates intended to be burned. The besieged extinguished the Greek fire with vinegar, abundantly provided for the purpose, and by secret communication with the ditch, set the fascines on fire. But this conflagration, whilst repulsing the assailants from the walls, equally rendered them untenable for their defenders; and hostilities were unavoidably suspended. The Imperialists made the most strenuous exertions to rescue their endangered machinery; but at this critical moment the wind changed; breeze from the north blowing the flames outward from the town wall, left the station of the besieged clear, and again the Viterban archers and engineers plied the besiegers—whom their anxious labours amidst perils from fire, exposed unprotected—with darts and stones. One



of these stones unfortunately struck a knight who in person greatly resembled Frederic. As he fell from his horse, a cry of, "The Emperor is slain!" resounded; and the troops, in utter dismay, abandoning their engines, fled for shelter to their entrenched camp.

Frederic was greatly depressed by this accident, which reduced him to beginning even his preparations over again, and he next day gladly received overtures from the Pope, through Cardinal Otho. Innocent—who professed to retain his old affection for the Emperor, and doubtless did wish rather to coerce him into thorough subserviency, than to crush him—proposed a suspension of hostilities, in order to treat; with free egress from the Castle of Viterbo for Theano and his troops. To this the Emperor willingly acceded, and Otho entered the town to enforce observance of the convention. The result was not encouraging. The little garrison, in reliance upon the terms, left their stronghold, carelessly straggling through the town on their way to the Imperial camp; when the Viterbans and their auxiliary rabble suddenly fell upon the incautious Imperialists, plundering, butchering, and throwing, those whom they did not massacre, into prison; Cardinal Capocci is accused of purposely exciting this treacherous, sanguinary riot, though guilty, perhaps, only of neither guarding against nor checking it. Cardinal Otho, at the risk of his own life, strove to supply the last omission, and rescue the assailed, but in vain. And in bitterness of spirit Frederic wrote to him: "Tell me, what am I to expect, to hope, to fear; if truth, shame, oaths, and conscience, be no longer of avail? By what bonds shall men be held, when a holy Legate, yea, a Cardinal, a name venerated by the nations, violates his promise."

The successful revolt of Viterbo proved the signal for others. In Lombardy, Vercelli and Alessandria again joined the League; the Marquess of Montferrat again deserted his imperial kinsman, and the long-faithful Marquess Malaspina followed his example. Even the Queen of Sardinia, regardless of her husband Enzio, who, fighting his father's battles, was absent from her, sought a reconciliation with the Pope. Innocent, on his part, overpowered the opposition of the Frangipani, and on the

15th of November, in great pomp, made his entry into Rome. A sedition was, indeed, provoked by his delaying to pay a debt of 40,000 marks, incurred by Gregory IX, to some Roman traders; but quickly suppressed by his energy and address.

When the Pope was thus established in his metropolis, the Emperor sent Pietro delle Vigne and Taddeo da Suessa, in company with the Earl of Toulouse, to renew the interrupted negotiations; not only pledging himself to accept any conditions to which they might agree, but undertaking that the Princes of the Empire should be security for his so doing. Trusting that these offers must satisfy Innocent, and be met by moderate terms, he invited the German Princes to Verona, that they might there in person guarantee him to the Pope; and requested his brother-in-law, the King of England, to witness, through a special embassy, the final settlement of dissensions so momentous, and his readmission into the bosom of the Church; thus to enhance the solemnity of the transaction.

The Imperial plenipotentiaries seem to have thought that, whatever the price, the Emperor *must* be relieved from excommunication; so absolute was the submission required by the terms, to which, in his name, they agreed. Dictated by Innocent, these were as follow:

The Emperor shall, first, restore all conquests made since his excommunication:—secondly, shall declare that, not out of disrespect for the Church had he slighted his excommunication by Gregory IX; but this not being regularly announced to him, he had considered it as non-existent; confessing that herein he had erred, since he knows and firmly believes the Pope to possess, in spiritual concerns, absolute authority over him, as over all Christians, kings and princes, clergy and laity:—thirdly, shall in satisfaction of this error supply the Pope with whatever troops and money he may require, keep fasts, and give alms according to the Pope's directions, submitting humbly to his sentence of excommunication, until the Holy Father may see fit to relieve him:—fourthly, shall make compensation to the captured prelates for loss of property, to churches and ecclesiastics for damage suffered, according to the assessment of the Pope and three Cardinals:—5thly, shall build and endow churches and hos-

pitals, as the Pope may require :—sixthly, shall withdraw his garrisons from all fortresses not his own :—seventhly, shall allow divers nobles of northern and central Italy to do homage vicariously :—eighthly, shall, conjointly with the Pope, appoint an Italian Judge to decide all suits, civil and criminal, between Italian Guelphs and Ghibelines :—and, finally, shall release all prisoners, cancel all convictions, and, grant the fullest amnesty conceivable. Upon these conditions the Emperor was to retain his honours, rights and dominions, and to be formally relieved from excommunication.

To these terms, upon the 31st of March, 1244, in presence of the Emperor Baldwin, of the Roman Senator, and of an immense concourse of the Roman people, the Imperial Embassadors, by oath, pledged the Emperor. Frederic had engaged to abide by what they should conclude ; and to the mortifying terms he made no objection ; but he raised a question respecting two points which were left unsettled ; to wit, the order in which the conditions were to be executed, and the future relation of the Lombards to the Empire. The Emperor averred, that he could not be expected to evacuate all his conquests, release all his prisoners, &c. &c., without receiving some security for the promised subsequent relief from excommunication ; but he proposed to restore part of those conquests, if the Holy Father would then receive him back into the bosom of the Church ; and meet him, when thus freed from excommunication, in a personal interview, conjointly to arrange the mode of executing the other conditions, and determine the relation of the Lombards to the Empire.

Innocent, on the other hand, asserted, that should he revoke the excommunication before the conditions were fulfilled, he should have no security for the subsequent execution—an evidently fictitious difficulty ; since non-execution of the terms would abundantly justify the renewal of the anathema. The advantages which the Emperor was required preliminarily to give up, could not be thus easily regained. An interview the Pope seemed willing to grant the Emperor, even whilst excluded by the ban of the Church from Christian fellowship ; he authorized Cardinal Otho to intimate that, for the sake of easier commu-

nication, he would remove from Rome to Civit  Castellana ; but, unless the Lombards were satisfied, peace could not be restored. Frederic's anxiety for his reconciliation to the Church may be appreciated, from his now consenting to submit his quarrel with the Lombards, as it stood before his last excommunication, to the arbitration of the Pope, unfriendly as he showed himself. If he afterwards somewhat modified the concession, by observing, that, a treaty concluded, as was the Peace of Constance, under the sanction of the Diet, he had no power, save with the concurrence of the Diet, to alter ; he added that, to whatever the Princes of the Empire should approve, he would consent.

Whilst the negotiations were thus advancing, some degree of reciprocal irritation, the offspring of trifles, chiefly of words reported, and probably exaggerated, by individuals, who found war more profitable than peace, was arising. No doubt, many an ejaculation of anger, at the concessions extorted from him as the price of sheer justice, would escape the Emperor, and be carried to the Pope ; whilst many an arrogant speech of Innocent's, such as, that his seizure of the prelates should cost Frederic 400,000 marks ; that vainly should he implore the settlement of the Lombard question ; and the like, would be as diligently made known to the Emperor. Notwithstanding these rubs, the negotiation advanced. If Frederic had not begun the promised evacuation, he had proposed that two Cardinals should be appointed by the Pope, to arrange with him the order of proceeding ; Innocent had approved the idea ; and, though he had not yet selected the Cardinals, announced his purpose of removing to Sutri for yet speedier intercourse. All appeared happily progressive ; when, early on the morning of the 30th of June, 1244, the astounding intelligence reached the Imperial Court, that the Pope had vanished ! Astounding it seemed to Guelph as to Ghibeline.<sup>(27)</sup>

Innocent, haughtily self-confident, as the hard terms so arbitrarily dictated to the Emperor exhibit him, had, during the whole negotiation, felt himself really in the power of the monarch, whose troops occupied his dominions, and had, therefore been preparing for flight. By patriotic letters, addressed upon his election, to his native

Genoa, taking the Republic under the immediate and especial patronage of the Holy See, he had stimulated the Guelph zeal of his countrymen to enthusiasm. He had since, probably upon Frederic's declining implicitly to trust his promise, sent Fra Bojolo, a Minorite, secretly to Genoa, bearing his request for rescue through a fleet, from the imminent danger of imprisonment, by the faithless because Godless, Emperor. The Friar upon his arrival solicited and obtained a private audience of the Podestà, Filippo Vicedominio, a nobleman of Piacenza; who at once assented to the Holy Father's desire. But, perfect secrecy being held indispensable to the success of the scheme, the Podestà sought to deceive the Emperor by affecting animosity to the Pope. To this end, he positively refused to one of the Pope's nephews, the publicly solicited permission to attend the wedding of a relation, resident at Parma; whilst a fleet was, with quiet diligence, equipped. When all was ready for sea, Innocent's nephews, with a few of his most devoted partisans, embarked, and sailed for a destination, known only to themselves. Upon the 27th of June the fleet made Cività Vecchia, when the Fieschi, landing with their companions, sent the Pope word, that three nephews and twenty-two Genoese ships awaited his commands. It was the receipt of this message, that determined the Supreme Pontiff, upon the pretence of expediting his intercourse with Frederic, to set out for Sutri; which, lying nearer the sea, would bring him thus far on his way, without awakening a suspicion of his design. At Sutri, he declared, that two hundred Imperialist horse were, he heard, moving in that direction, who must, unquestionably, be sent to take him prisoner. He thereupon threw aside his pontifical attire, assumed the ready-prepared garb of a layman, mounted his fleetest horse, and galloped off. Outstripping his train, he reached Cività Vecchia alone, late at night, and instantly embarking, requested that no time might be lost in putting to sea. Those who had landed, were recalled, and got on board, as they collected; so did the Pope's train, as it scatteringly came up, and the squadron was actually weighing anchor, at dawn of June the 30th, when six Cardinals, who had followed the Pope, arrived, and were the last to embark.<sup>(28)</sup>

The weather was unpropitious to the fugitive Pope; tempests driving the ships for shelter into a Ghibeline port. But the confident expectations of peace, at that moment insured Guelph vessels against hostile treatment, there; and, news travelling slowly in those days, no suspicion of the quality of the important passenger, or of the altered aspect of affairs, occurred. Upon the 7th of July, Innocent landed at Genoa, where he was received with pomp and enthusiasm. Here the Earl of Toulouse presently waited upon him, to express the Emperor's astonishment and regret at the flight of his Holiness, as also, his willingness still to abide by the treaty, provided he could have any security, that he really should, when his part was performed, be relieved from excommunication. He further entreated that the Holy Father would, for the convenience of the negotiation still necessary upon this point, return to Rome. The Pope's answer was, that he had been too often deceived to confide anew, and would not incur perils which, through his person, menaced the rights of the Church.

Frederic afterwards offered, with as little success, to commit the negotiation to some of the Cardinals; promising to be content with any arrangements that did not impair the Imperial dignity. But he, at the same time, ordered the port of Genoa to be closely blockaded by his fleet, and the passes of the Alps and Apennines, especially those leading towards France, to be as closely watched by his troops, in order to prevent the Pope from leaving Italy. The Pope represented these precautionary measures, as corroborations of the Emperor's design to make him a prisoner; and again boldly asserted that he had never dreamt of flight, till forced to escape, as he best could, from the two hundred horse sent to seize him at Sutri. The practical refutation of his assertion, contained in the presence of the Genoese fleet, he endeavoured to rebut, by declaring this to have been accidental. But it was only of the manner of Innocent's departure from Sutri, and of the cause assigned, that Frederic had just reason to complain. The Pope certainly treated under great disadvantage, in a province, of which the Imperial troops had the command; and his desire to escape from such a position, by removing

to Genoa or to France, was as reasonable, as the Emperor's, to preserve his advantage by detaining him. Doubtless, this was Innocent's real motive, whatever personal fears he chose to allege, for flying to Genoa; and, that Frederic was aware of its being so, appears from his own words upon first hearing of his antagonist's evasion: "Hitherto," said he, "when I have played at chess with the Pope, I have check-mated him, or at least taken his castle; now, the Genoese have laid a hand upon the board and spoiled my game."

At Genoa, Innocent was seized with a dangerous illness, from which he could scarcely be called convalescent, since still confined to his bed, when he was informed of the strict watch kept upon his movements. Such a blockade convinced him that he was not yet beyond the reach of the Imperial forces: whilst consciousness of the grievous offence he had given might now really inspire the previously pretended fears of capture. He resolved, at all hazards, to place a greater distance betwixt himself and the Imperialists. He ordered his bed to be laid upon a litter, carried by men: thus, October 5, he quitted Genoa; and thus was he borne along bye-paths, upon which no traveller was looked for, eluding the vigilance of the Emperor's troops. Thus he crossed the Apennines, and pursued his journey, resting at Guelph cities, as Astri, Alessandria, Turin, and Susa. To secure the House of Savoy to his interest, he, during these pauses, arranged the marriage of a richly portioned niece, with the influential brother of Amedeo IV, Conte Tommaso, the second husband of Joanna Countess of Flanders, and now a widower. Then, tolerably recovered, he crossed the Alps, and, on the 2nd of December, arrived at Lyons.

That a Pope, flying from the power of the Emperor, should fix his abode, even temporarily, in the Arrelat, still part of the Empire, and in a city, whose archbishop owed unusual rights and privileges to the Emperor's grandfather, Frederic Barbarossa, may, at first sight, seem irrational. But the choice was really judicious. Whilst divers Burgundian great vassals were, even then, meditating the transfer of their allegiance from the Emperor to the King of France, Lyons—whose suburbs west of the Saone were

already in France—aspired to independence; in fact, acknowledging no authority but that of her archbishop, who, as a churchman, despite the obligations of his see to the Swabian dynasty, was a partisan of the Pope's. Moreover, the close proximity of the French territory, secured a pontiff resident at Lyons from being completely blockaded by Imperialists, so long as the devout Louis IX sat upon the French throne.

In addition to these recommendations of Lyons, Innocent proposed to convoke a Council, partly, perhaps, that it might share the responsibility of the steps he purposed taking against the Emperor; and Lyons was conveniently accessible from all parts of Europe, without danger of such disasters to the Fathers of the Church as had prevented the sitting of the Council convoked by Gregory IX. Upon the 30th of January, 1245, the Pope published a summons to the kings, princes, and prelates of Christendom, to assemble in an Œcumenic Council at Lyons, upon the festival of St. John the Baptist, otherwise Midsummer-day, next ensuing, in order to deliberate upon the situation of the Holy Land, of the Latin East-Roman Empire, and also, upon the dangers to be apprehended, as well from the Mongols, as from the existing dissensions between the Holy See and the Holy Roman Empire.

But, even whilst thus professing to refer the questions in dispute betwixt himself and Frederic to the future Council, Innocent, forestalling not only the judgment of the Fathers of the Church but, their investigation of the case, fulminated anew the sentence of excommunication against his antagonist. This injudicious step, which may be presumed a mere ebullition of temper, appears to have been, openly or secretly, very generally blamed. By none more boldly, or more whimsically, than by a Parisian priest; who, when he obeyed the papal command to publish the sentence at the altar, added to the denunciation these words: "That the Pope and the Emperor are quarrelling and persecuting each other, I know, but not which of the two is in the wrong; wherefore I excommunicate him who is guilty, whichever that may be, and absolve him who is guiltless." For this commentary upon his appointed task, the priest was, as might be anticipated, severely reprimanded by the



Pope, and handsomely rewarded by the Emperor. In Germany, the majority of the Princes of the Empire, ecclesiastical as well as lay, boldly reprobated the sentence, avowing unshaken loyalty; and if, again, a few of the, always Guelph, Rhine prelates, deserted the common cause, their enmity to their Sovereign was again more than neutralized by their own cities, like all others, with scarcely an exception, ardently loyal.

The impending storm was foreseen by Frederic, when the Pope's second flight was made known to him; and he prepared to meet it. Leaving to Vitale d'Aversa the command of the troops occupying the Estates of the Church, he hastened, in the first place, to his maternal heritage, there to make all requisite arrangements. Amongst others, he granted new favours and privileges to the Saracens in the Capitanata, whose grateful affection for himself must, he felt, be strengthened, whatever confidence he might place in their abhorrence for the sovereignty of an intolerant Christian Priest. Thence he repaired to Verona, whither he had summoned the Princes of the Empire.

Lombardy, taken largely as rest, was a prey to the usual disorders, if these were not rather increasing in acrimony; for, in the feud that Bologna and Parma were then fighting out, prisoners of war on both sides were slaughtered. At Milan, the most democratic had by this time placed the supreme authority in the hands of Pagano della Torre—whether still only as Capitano del Popolo, or as Podestà also, seems doubtful—and this haughty Republic had, excepting in name, ceased to be one. Verona, amidst the general distractions, was enjoying an internal calm, due to the policy of Ezzelino, who had won the hearts of the people by opening the Great Council, previously consisting exclusively of nobles, not only to the most opulent traders, but to all who were solvent and of legitimate birth.

At Verona, the Signor di Romano received his Imperial father-in-law with his accustomed loyal magnificence; and there the chief of the German princes, the few still faithful Italian vassals, and Emperor Baldwin, met him. Various affairs, both German and Italian, were regulated at this assembly, which hardly was, perhaps, a regular Diet, and

a fourth marriage is said to have been there projected, for the Emperor. The proposed bride was Gertrude, the childless widow of the Bohemian heir-apparent, daughter of the Duke of Austria's deceased brother, and who, the Duke still being without legitimate offspring, might, by a slight deviation from the strict law of Austrian succession,<sup>(29)</sup> or through his bequest, be his heiress. It is said to have been upon this occasion, that the Emperor, at the Duke's request, set Queen Margaret and her sons (his own grandchildren), who had hitherto remained in confinement, at liberty.<sup>(30)</sup> But the matrimonial scheme was still inchoate, when, the Duke abruptly quitting Verona, it dropped.

The departure of Frederic the Combative is variously explained. Most writers assign, as the motive, resentment for the death of a noble Austrian vassal, slain in a street broil betwixt the Germans and the Veronese; for which broil different causes are again found. Some Guelph writers assert, that it was provoked by the Emperor, for the idle purpose of trying whether he or Ezzelino were the most powerful in Verona; whilst others, of the same party, attribute it to Ezzelino, in the wanton indulgence of his sanguinary temper. Both accounts imputing, at such a crisis, downright childish folly, rather than wickedness, to men, whose political sagacity their bitterest enemies never disputed! And, when it is recollected, that the Italians appear to have hated the Germans quite as cordially in the thirteenth century, as they do in the nineteenth, and that numbers of the lowest military followers of German princes must now have been crowded into Verona, what need to seek other cause of quarrel between them and the like class of Italians, quickly growing into open hostilities, and costing the life of any noble, who either joined his countrymen as a partisan, or endeavoured to separate the combatants? But, without reasoning upon the improbability of either of those accounts, or upon the impossibility of another, an Italian statement, that, allowing the affray to be casual, sends the Duke of Austria away in anger, that the rioters who had killed *his* nephew—he having none but the Emperor's grandsons and Albert, afterwards Margrave of Misnia—were, at Ezzelino's request, pardoned.

The history of Austria will supply a motive, totally unconnected with either the Emperor or his princely host,<sup>(31)</sup> for Duke Frederic's abrupt departure. To explain this, the narrative must revert to the Mongols and Hungary.

If Austria had, since the second defeat of her barbarian invaders, remained free from their devastating inroads, Hungary, for upwards of two years, groaned under the burthen of their presence: Bela's efforts for the relief of his kingdom availing only to make Dalmatia, where he had found an asylum, a partaker, though casually and slightly, in the sufferings of Hungary and Transylvania. But, early in 1244, the death of Octai Khan recalled Batu, with his portion of the Golden Horde, to Tartary, for the election of a new Grand Khan. If he expected to obtain that dignity for himself, he was disappointed; but he succeeded in securing a separate empire, of which Crim Tartary was a principal part, and Russia a tributary dependency. Content, seemingly, with such dominions, he thenceforward left the rest of Europe untroubled.

Upon the departure of the Mongols, Bela returned, to find his realm devastated and nearly depopulated. But he procured food from other countries, to relieve the famine consequent upon such devastation; whilst numbers, who, having disappeared, were supposed to be slain, hastened home from the mountain recesses, amongst which they had taken refuge. The Kumans brought their herds back from Bulgaria; and, either the Mongols having, by the slaughter of rival proprietors, provided ample pasture grounds for their cattle, or, they themselves having gradually imbibed something of the principles and habits of the Christian religion, which they had so recently embraced, they henceforward lived in as much amity, as was then usual, with their neighbours. Bela invited colonies of Germans to settle upon the unoccupied, ownerless, lands, with other portions of which he largely endowed the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Hungary, thus aided, so rapidly recovered from her sufferings, that, in the spring of 1245, Bela found himself able to indulge the vindictive feelings towards the Duke of Austria, provoked by his rapaciously turning to his own advantage, the distress he had

caused, or at least helped to increase, by stirring up discord between the Magyars and the Kumans, when the Mongols first entered Hungary. He had, therefore, conjointly with the King of Bohemia, taken the opportunity of Frederic the Combative's absence at Verona, to invade Austria. This invasion it was, that suddenly called the Duke back to the defence of his dominions, and subsequently prevented his attending the Council of Lyons. That his departure might occur simultaneously with a broil between Germans and Italians at Verona, which cost a transalpine nobleman his life, is as likely as not.

When the time appointed for the meeting of the Council drew near, the assembly at Verona broke up. The German princes returned home; Baldwin betook himself to Lyons to prosecute his suit for European assistance; and Frederic, with his principal councillors, temporarily fixed his quarters at Turin, for the sake of more convenient communication with his representatives at the Council. At Turin he quickly revived the loyalty of the Marquess of Montferrat and the Earl of Savoy, the latter having only the preceding year been drawn over to the adverse party by his brother, Tommaso, husband of Innocent's neice. His influence the Emperor seems to have counteracted by giving Amedeo, now a widower, another of his own illegitimate daughters, and creating him Duke of Aosta and Chablais.<sup>(32)</sup> The title hardly appears in history, perhaps dying with Amedeo's childless son. At Turin, the Emperor received the homage of Charles of Anjou for the county of Provence; his marriage with the heiress, Beatrice, having been celebrated, either in 1243, when her elder sister, Sancha, married Richard, Earl of Cornwall, or in the current year, 1245.<sup>(33)</sup>

But before relating the transactions of the memorable Council of Lyons, inasmuch as the interests of Palestine were named amongst the important subjects to be considered, a brief survey of the condition of that scarcely existing kingdom must be taken. A condition growing worse from day to day. Filangieri, the Governor appointed by Frederic, found even a shadow of sovereign authority denied him; whilst all parties, united only against him, were embroiled amongst themselves. The Patriarchs of

Jerusalem and Antioch quarrelled respecting the limits of their respective provinces. The Templars and Hospitalers, upon every occasion, in every war of Christians or of Mohammedans, embraced opposite sides, and had forfeited, by their rapacity and licentiousness, the veneration and universal confidence they once enjoyed. The Hospitalers were taxed with accepting lands from the schismatic Vatazès, as the price of helping him to recover the Eastern empire from the Roman-Catholic, Baldwin; and laboured, moreover, under accusations, akin, although lighter, to those which, at a somewhat later period, rightfully or wrongfully, formed the plea for the spoliation and atrocious extermination of the Templars. The Marians, whom both alike hated, having mainly transferred themselves and their exertions to a more promising field in Europe, were, in Palestine, too few to be of much account; but those few were loyal to the Emperor-King of Jerusalem, and obedient to his Lieutenant.

It may seem strange, that the Mohammedans should not have taken advantage of these weakening dissensions, to expel the intrusive Latin Christians from Syria. But the most powerful of the Moslem Princes, Kameel, Sultan of Egypt, was honourably restrained by the truce he had concluded with Frederic and his Lieutenants; and the wars, in which the Sultans of Damascus and Aleppo were constantly engaged with each other, or with him, insured for some years their observance of that truce, although not parties to it. In 1236-7-8, these three Sultans successively died, and the second death, that of Daher of Aleppo, appeared to the Templars a favourable opportunity, his sons being young children, of conquering his dominions. Little caring whether there were or were not a truce with Aleppo, they at once attacked the capital; but his widow, a daughter of Malek el Adel, proved worthy of her race. Resolutely she defended the town, repulsing the assailants with the loss of upwards of 100 knights. She was, nevertheless, unable to save the territories of Aleppo from the fate undergone by all the dominions of Saladin's descendants; to wit, further division amongst heirs, consequent upon these deaths, producing increase of discord and of weakness amongst these Mohammedan States.

The following year, 1239, one of the latest royal troubadours, Thibalt Earl of Champagne and King of Navarre—in right of his mother, Blanche, eldest daughter, and eventually heiress, of Sancho VII—took the Cross, together with many French knights and nobles, amongst whom was Amauri de Montfort, eldest son and heir of Simon the Crusader, who had ceded the earldom of Leicester to his younger brother, as incompatible with his French fiefs. Lyons had been designated as the place of meeting, and thither came Crusaders from every part of France, again, it is said, beginning their holy war by the massacre of all Jews (pregnant women included), domiciliated in the provinces through which they passed. The further report, that they burnt the Jews' sacred books<sup>(34)</sup> is more difficult to believe, since whatever their mistakes touching the creed of heretics, that the Jewish BIBLE was the OLD TESTAMENT could hardly be unknown. The massacre and book-burning may, however, have been unauthorized acts of the ignorant multitude; but Theobald himself, the Spanish king, French peer, and troubadour, thought to propitiate the Deity, and duly prepare for his hallowed enterprise, by sanctioning and witnessing, at Vertu, in Champagne, the day before his departure, the burning of 183 of his vassals, as heretics. A contemporary chronicler calls this wholesale execution "a mighty sacrifice pleasing to God."<sup>(35)</sup> At Lyons, the Crusaders, in lieu of the encouragement and assistance, which Gregory IX's repeated calls upon Europe to arm on behalf of the Holy Land, entitled them to expect, found, Gregory's object being changed, a papal bull, forbidding them to undertake that remote expedition at this juncture, and enjoining them rather to defend the Latin Empire of Constantinople, then in danger from the schismatic Greeks. They likewise found letters from the Emperor, regretting that the posture of his affairs rendered his leading their Crusade, as he had intended, impossible; and earnestly warning them against being hurried, with inadequate forces, into any rash enterprise. Many were disheartened by such disappointments, and turned back; but the King of Navarre, and all those who, by great sacrifices, had equipped themselves for the holy war, that was to earn them Heaven,

and made arrangements for a prolonged absence, resented being thus treated as puppets of the Pope's caprice, and persevered. But they ceased to form an united body, and therefore an available crusade. Some embarked for Syria, at Marseilles; others traversed Italy, to take shipping at Brindisi; and others, again, lengthened their pilgrimage by taking their way through Sicily, where they saw and received all practicable assistance from the Emperor.

Upon landing in Palestine, the fervent zeal that had prompted the enterprise, triumphed, as might be anticipated, over the prudence which Frederic had endeavoured to impress upon the Crusaders. The ten years' truce, renewed when it expired, and still subsisting, ended, according to its terms, upon the arrival of a crusading army headed by a monarch. There was, therefore, nothing but their own discretion to check their martial ardour, and at once they invaded the Moslem states. They were defeated, with great loss, by the far more numerous Mohammedans, whom the common danger momentarily reunited. The resumption of hostilities had, however, the beneficial effect of inducing the Jerusalemites to repair the walls of the Holy City, which had hitherto remained as when it was restored by Kameel.<sup>(36)</sup> But this measure of forethought, being too late begun, was imperfectly executed. And again, as the pressure ceased, with the danger vanished Syro-Frank care of the fortifications. Dissensions revived amongst the victors, and war raged anew between the Sultans of Egypt and Damascus. The Templars presently joined the latter, whereupon the Hospitalers offered their alliance to the former; and even Crusaders, though some carried on active hostilities against both, took service on either side, satisfied that they were still fighting against unbelievers,<sup>(37)</sup> and well paid for so doing. All was sanguinary disorder. Jerusalem, after a possession of twelve years, was again lost, only the tower of David being still held by an Imperialist garrison. To increase the confusion, Alicia Queen of Cyprus, stimulated by the Venetians, whose extravagant pretensions Filangieri was disposed to resist, again advanced her preposterous claim to the crown of Jerusalem; and, by way of securing a champion, married Raoul Comte de Sois-

sons, one of the Crusaders. The Baronage of Palestine allowed him, apparently, to assume the government, merely protesting, that they did so without prejudice to Conrad's right. But Raoul soon discovered, that the authority thus committed to him was altogether nominal, every one still doing just what he pleased, regardless of the ruler he acknowledged, whether Alicia's consort, or the vicegerent of Yolanthé's widower, or son. Weary of so unsubstantial a royalty, he presently deserted his royal wife, returning, with his brother Crusaders and the King of Navarre, to Europe.

In 1240, the opulent Earl of Cornwall undertook his already mentioned Crusade, at the head of a body of belligerent pilgrims, volunteers, and mercenaries. He led them across France, to embark at a Mediterranean port for Syria, and at St. Gilles, in Languedoc, was, like Thibalt, met upon his road by a message from Gregory, prohibiting the employment of his arms in the defence of the Holy Land; Earl Richard being commanded, instead, to join the Pope's forces in attacking his sister's husband, the Emperor. He similarly disregarded the prohibition, and, embarking with his troop, landed in Palestine. But, in the impossibility of reconciling the Templars and Hospitalers, he speedily found an insuperable obstacle to effecting anything against the Mohammedans, without an actual army of crusaders; inasmuch as the high pay offered by the Moslem princes, in the wars which they were waging against each other, not against Christians, tempted the martial portion of the people, knights and nobles included, to enlist under their respective hostile banners. He therefore, following Frederic's example, had recourse to negotiation, and was at the head of forces sufficient to insure success in that direction. From the Sultan of Egypt, hard pressed by his rival kinsmen, he obtained, as the price of renewing the truce, ended by the King of Navarre's Crusade, the restoration of Jerusalem, with the places between the Holy City and Acre, to Filangieri, as Governor, for the King of Jerusalem; as also the release of the bulk of his Christian prisoners, especially of Thibalt's captured Crusaders. The Earl next interred the remains of the Christians, who, having fallen in a defeat near Ascalon,



still lay on the field of battle. He fortified Ascalon, built a castle there, delivered over the place, so strengthened, to the officers of his Imperial brother-in-law, and embarked for Europe. He was scarcely at sea, when Balian d'Ibelin and Philip de Montfort expelled those officers, seizing this important fortress in the name of Queen Alicia, whose pretensions Gregory now countenanced, as though the boy Conrad had, by his father's excommunication, forfeited his maternal heritage.

These internal dissensions invited the destruction evidently impending over the remnant of the Syro-Latin States. The Mongols were pressing closer and closer upon Western Asia, driving conquered nations before them; and the Korasmians or Kharizmians were thus brought into fearful proximity to Syria. Eyub, Sultan of Egypt, who had not without difficulty made head against the Sultans of Damascus and Aleppo, was driven to actual desperation by an incursion of the Templars, directly violating the armistice, just renewed by the Earl of Cornwall and Filangieri. Distracted with terror, he, as his last chance, offered his alliance and friendship to the homeless vagrant nation, together with his advice, to conquer and settle in the dominions of his Christian, if not also of his Moslem, enemies. The Kharizmians needed no pressing; they poured into Palestine, ravaging and destroying, on their way, as might be expected from a barbarous tribe, and directed their course towards Jerusalem. A body of 7,000 Christians, flying thence too late, encountered them, and, with the exception of the children of both sexes, reserved for slaves, was massacred. In the month of August, 1244, it should seem, the precise date being uncertain, they entered the undefended Holy City, plundered houses and churches, broke open the tombs of the kings, destroyed the Holy Sepulchre—either in search of treasure or in mere wantonness—and butchered the inhabitants they found, male and female, Christian and Moslem, with the same exception of children as before. The Sultan of Damascus and the Princes of Karak and Emesa, being now thoroughly alarmed for themselves, hastened to the assistance of their Christian neighbours; and, entering Palestine, united their forces with the Syro-Frank warriors,

not far from Gaza. There, upon the 18th of October, they conjointly gave battle to the far more numerous Kharizmians, reinforced by Egyptian troops, and were defeated with the loss of 16,000 men. The two, or according to some writers, three Grand-Masters (the emergency having brought the Marian, with his disposable knights to their original scene of duty, the Holy Land) the Archbishop of Tyre, and most of the great vassals were amongst the slain, or the prisoners. Certainly 312 Templars, and 325 Hospitalers fell; and, of the three military Orders, only eighteen of the former, sixteen of the latter, with a few Marian esquires, appear to have survived this fatal battle. The Patriarch and the Constable are said to have reached Acre with about 100 fugitives.

Among the prisoners was Gaultier de Brienne, the son, either of the late ex-King of Jerusalem and Emperor of Constantinople, or of the Conte di Lecce, who had obtained the county of Joppa as the portion of his wife, a daughter of the Queen of Cyprus. He was carried in chains to Joppa, there fastened to a gallows, and ordered, on pain of instant death, to make the town surrender.<sup>(38)</sup> He bade the citizens defend themselves without regard to him; and his courage awakening respect, he was spared; unfortunately but for days. The Christian prisoners were delivered up, by previous agreement, to the Sultan of Egypt; who, upbraiding them with their breach of the truce, their treason to their lawful sovereign, the Emperor-King, and their disregard for the precepts of the Bible, which they professed to obey, told them that nothing short of the intercession of that Emperor-King, Frederic, whom he esteemed and respected, could soften their lot. They were made slaves, kept to severe labour, and scantily fed; the gallant Earl of Joppa was, at the especial request of some merchants, whom he had, it seems, individually offended, made over to them, and they murdered him in his prison. Notwithstanding the Sultan's professed implacability, the Minorite Friars, who, with genuine apostolic zeal, ventured into the power of the Mohammedans in order to afford their suffering brethren the consolations of religion and thus maintain them steadfast in their faith, were freely permitted to visit the prisoners. It is to be

hoped that their self-sacrificing charity was recompensed by the consciousness of having strengthened many to prefer martyrdom to apostacy; but despite their admonitions, in many endurance failed; numbers sought alleviation of their misery by abjuring Christianity. The Emperor-King of Jerusalem, persecuted by the Pope, was then in no condition to make effective intercession for his own or his son's rebellious subjects. He indeed applied to the Sultan, who had professed respect for him; but he could not menace; Eyub was no Kameel or Malek el Adel, and only a few were released upon his interposition.

When the Kharizmians had so thoroughly devastated Palestine that impending famine drove them away, and had quarrelled with Eyub for inadequately remunerating their services in the battle of Gaza and the subsequent capture of Damascus, they fell upon Egypt. But Egypt, no longer harassed by a formidable Moslem and Christian confederacy, now opposed a resistance for which they were unprepared. They were repulsed, and seemingly disheartened; for they forthwith broke up into separate bands: some of which took service under divers small potentates; some became robbers, and the greater number joining the Mongols, were incorporated with the Horde or made slaves. The Kharizmians, as a nation, disappear from history.

Jerusalem, thus abandoned by her conquerors and not yet seized by the Egyptians, might again have been occupied by Christians, though of Christian warriors to defend it, none remained. But a little to the north of the line, previously followed by the Kharizman migration, was advancing a more terrific danger. The Mongols, whom Gregory IX had represented as virtually protectors of Palestine, and likely soon to become Christians, were now spreading desolation far westward. The Syro-Frank state first found on their way was Antioch; and, whilst devastating the territory, they required the Prince to redeem himself and subjects from utter annihilation, by razing the walls and fortifications of all his towns, and delivering up to them, not only all the gold and silver in his dominions, but also 3,000 virgins. This demand was just made at the moment of the assembling of the Council of Lyons, and,

like the destruction of the Kharizmians, could not be yet known in Europe. Still, the condition of the Syro-Frank States, the prospects of Christianity itself, in the East, might, it should seem, have furnished the Head of the Church with more important subjects to lay before the embodied Church, than his own personal quarrels with his proper protector and champion, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

One measure of Innocent's, with respect to the threatening barbarians, was, however, correctly pontifical. Partly adopting his predecessor's views relative to the Mongols, he sent a company of Mendicant Friars to convert the Grand-Khan to Christianity. These bold missionaries were better received than might reasonably have been expected, inasmuch as they did not suffer death, for such actually incomprehensible presumption, as visiting them with a purpose so audacious, must have appeared to the Mongols. But the answer they brought back was: "To me, has God committed the task of exterminating corrupt nations. For the prevention of war let the Pope come hither, and acknowledge me as the Lord of the earth, let the Emperor surrender his dominions to me, and both shall have office at the Mongol Court." When Frederic heard of the mission and its results, he laughed, and observed: "As I understand the management of birds, perhaps I may hope to be the Grand-Khan's Falconer." But, if unsuccessful in the task assigned them, the Friars' expedition was not altogether useless. Having taken their way, as directed by Innocent IV, through Russia, some of their number were left in that country, the conversion of which to the Church of Rome might, it was hoped, be facilitated by the sufferings consequent upon Mongol domination. Daniel of Halitsh, alone among the Russian princes, was won by them to renounce the schismatic Greek Creed; and the Pope rewarded him with the title of King, and the promise of a Crusade to be preached against his oppressors, the Mongols:—all that Daniel gained by his conversion, or apostacy. But this Romanist triumph did not occur till a few years later. The immediate fruit of the mission was geographical information.

Some Greek and Syrian monks who, actuated solely by

their own zeal, undertook a similar mission to a nearer body of Mongols, were not so easily dismissed. This Mongol leader sneeringly remarked, that the greatest kindness he could do them must surely be to send them to their God, and ordered them to be burnt to death. Singular, that he should pitch upon the mode of execution, selected in Europe as the punishment of misbelievers !

## CHAPTER XIII.

### FREDERIC II.

*Conduct of Innocent—Council of Lyons—Innocent's Manœuvres  
—His Deposal of the Emperor—Consequences—Conduct of  
Lewis IX—of Germany—of the Sicilies.* [1245—1246.]

As the time prefixed for the meeting of the Œcumenic Council approached, the Pope appears to have felt, if no misgivings as to his ultimate success, yet apprehensions of a hard struggle awaiting him, ere the anticipated triumph should be achieved. Such prescience arose out of what he everywhere saw, as he looked around him. Naturally rapacious he might not be; but to promote his ambitious projects money was wanted; and the heavy demands upon the coffers of the clergy, to which this need gave birth, alienated a large part of that body. The right, claimed by Adrian IV, and extended by Innocent III, of appointing, under certain circumstances, to benefices, became, in the hands of Innocent IV, the usurpation of almost all church-patronage whatsoever; and he so used this assumed power, as to offend clergy and laity alike. Now, to win or to reward a partisan, now, to provide for a relation, he obtruded priests, regardless of their fitness or unfitness, upon sees, abbeys, chapters and rectories; upon the last, often such as were unacquainted with even the language of the flocks committed to their charge. With the same recklessness of all the duties and purposes for which churchmen are trained and endowed, did he, simoniacally, seek the means of defraying his ambitious schemes for the papacy; extorting such gratuities from his nominees, from beneficed aliens nearly a fifth of their income,<sup>(39)</sup> as left him little claim to gratitude.

Thus was the very city, in which Innocent sought

security and independence, alienated. Upon the Chapter of Lyons he had forced Canons, whom, as illegally appointed, the Chapter refused to admit: and when the see became vacant, he arbitrarily named a younger brother of the Earl of Savoy—then not even in Orders—archbishop. And, whilst the Pope himself thus offended the clergy, the insolence of his train exasperated the laity of Lyons. Long before midsummer, the general ill-will was so apparent, that the Pope, deeming a change of residence advisable, wrote to the Kings of England, France, and Aragon, proposing to visit their several dominions. The last-named monarch simply declined the honour in respectful terms, without assigning any reason. Lewis IX, in his answer, explained that being under the necessity, ere he could offer his Holiness an asylum, of consulting the Estates of the Kingdom, they had positively refused to admit him. Finally, Henry III, who—inferior to Lewis in understanding as in genuine piety—was highly flattered by the idea of harbouring the Head of the Church, found his wishes similarly opposed by the magnates of his realm. The English Barons exclaimed: “Already have Italians and Romans overmuch polluted England with their usury, robbery, and simony! It needs but the coming of the Pope in person, to complete the waste and exhaustion of the substance of church and kingdom!” Henry, like Lewis, confessed himself unable to receive the honour designed him. Nor were the Barons content with this rebuff to the Pope. Burning with indignation at John’s degrading his independent kingdom to vassalage under the Roman See, they determined at least to prevent the exportation of the large sums, again wrung by the Legate from the English clergy. For this purpose, having sedulously and successfully watched the ports, they next proceeded to frighten away the Legate himself; a person seemingly, like Beham, of inferior condition, designated only as Martin. A Knight, one morning abruptly entering his chamber, thus announced the will of the nation: “If you and your train do not quit this country within three days, you will all be cut to pieces. This have the confederated Baronage and Chivalry resolved.” The terrified Legate hurried to the King, to

inquire whether he had sanctioned such a resolution: "By no means," said Henry; "but I can neither curb my nobility, nor compel my clergy longer to submit to your immoderate extortion." In momentarily increasing terrors, Martin now besought a safe conduct with which to leave the kingdom, and received for answer: "*Diabolus te ad Inferos inducat et perducatur.*"<sup>(40)</sup> The boon was, however, granted.

Innocent suspected, not without reason, that for these refusals he was partly indebted to the representations and remonstrances of Imperial envoys. He appears, nevertheless, to have been far more incensed against those who, with inferior pretensions to sovereignty, presumed to resist his will; being reported to have said: "We must compound with the Emperor; for, when the Dragon is once crushed, or pacified, these petty serpents will be speedily trampled under foot." In consonance with this speech, he now commissioned the Patriarch of Antioch to visit the Emperor, and renew his former offer of relief from excommunication, as soon as the Estates of the Church should be evacuated, all the captive ecclesiastics released, and security given for the due fulfilment of the remaining conditions. The Emperor still saw very decided objections to parting with the advantages in his hands, without obtaining, at least, some actual guarantee for the consequent repeal of his excommunication: but instead of rejecting the offer, he merely stipulated, that, in requital of his acceptance, those, who had incurred excommunication by fidelity to him, should with him be relieved, and that, as the Pope himself had said there could be no peace unless the Lombards were included therein, the maintenance of the Treaty of Constance should be assured to him. To demands so moderate Innocent demurred; and this was the state of the negotiation, when the appointed Midsummer-day arrived.

The Council, when assembled, comprised the Emperor Baldwin, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia, a hundred and forty Archbishops and Bishops, besides Abbots, deputies from cloisters, the neighbouring Earls of Toulouse and Provence, and ambassadors from most of the States of western Europe. For the whole of



Christendom the number of prelates seemed inconsiderable; but the northern states, even those belonging to the Roman Church, do not appear to have concerned themselves about Councils; and attendance from the east was hindered by invasion of Kharizmians and Mongols, past, present, or imminent, so that the Patriarch of Antioch and the Bishop of Berytus were the only members of the Asiatic hierarchy present. Frederic, though he sent an embassy, headed by Taddeo da Suessa, to defend him against the Pope's expected accusations, did not, seemingly, chuse that his own prelates should take part in the transactions of a Council, convoked by his almost avowed, inveterate enemy. Nor could an Imperial prohibition be required to prevent most of the ecclesiastical Princes of the Empire from implicating themselves with the acts of a Council, which, they were assured, neither would nor could decide fairly between the Pope and the Emperor. Sicily and Apulia had no representative there, but the seditious Archbishop of Palermo.

Upon the Monday after St. John the Baptist's day, a preliminary consultation was held in the refectory of the abbey of St. Just. Here the Patriarch of Constantinople, who thought the dangers of the Latin Church and Empire, in Greece, the most important of the concerns to be considered, rose to represent their deteriorated and perilous condition. He stated that out of thirty suffragan bishops, he had only three remaining; that the Greeks had recovered everything, to the very gates of the capital; and that the Latin Empire was tottering on the brink of ruin. Innocent cannot be supposed indifferent to so great a papal object as the reunion of Greece with the Roman Catholic Church; but he had another, more personal, for which, and not for that reunion, he had convoked the Council: he took no notice of the Patriarch's speech. The English prelates then brought forward their chief business; to wit, the canonization of Edmund, the lately deceased Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Pope, seizing the opportunity, said, that the time, for considering all such matters would be, when affairs of more importance were disposed of.

Taddeo da Suessa then rose, apologized, on the plea of

illness, for the absence of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and in his name proffered peace and friendship, the restoration of the papal dominions, with compensation for any casual injuries; demanding, in return, relief from the sentence of excommunication denounced against himself and his adherents; and he further pledged the Emperor, when readmitted into the bosom of the Church, to send succours against the Mongols, wherever needed, re-establish the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and recover the Holy Land. Innocent inquired, whether the Envoy had authority to make such offers. Taddeo affirmed that he had, exhibiting a document to which was appended the golden *bull*, or Imperial seal. The Pope then evasively exclaimed: "Large and splendid are the Emperor's offers, were they ever to be fulfilled! Now that the axe is at the root of the tree, he would fain delude the Council, gaining time till it shall be dissolved. Should I concede all he asks, what security have I that his fickle spirit will not retract? Who shall compel him to keep his promises, if reluctant?" Almost interrupting the Pope, Taddeo cried: "The Kings of England and France will be his guarantees, and, if necessary, compel the fulfilment of his engagements." The Pope, shaking his head, rejoined: "And so, when the Emperor breaks his word, as he certainly will, the Church must attack his guarantees; and instead of one, will have three enemies, all so powerful that none in Christendom can mate them. I refuse your guarantees." With this rejection of the Emperor's offers, the preliminary conference ended.

Upon the following Wednesday, the Council was solemnly opened. The members, assembling in the Church of St. John, arranged themselves according to their rank; the Emperor Baldwin's place being at the Pope's right hand; when, prior even to the first formal ceremonies, the solemn tranquillity was disturbed by a dispute relative to precedence. The Patriarch of Aquileia had caused his seat to be prepared beside those of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, with whom he naturally enough claimed equal rank. But the title, although allowed to survive the patriarchate of Aquileia, did so as an empty title; the real Patriarchs, therefore, ordered his

seat to be overthrown; and, amidst a prodigious tumult, he was forced back into the second, or episcopal line; which the Pope adjudged to be his proper station, since he possessed no patriarchal jurisdiction. This disturbance allayed, the invocation to the Holy Ghost was chaunted, prayers were offered up, and the rites, customary upon such occasions, were celebrated.

The Council being now opened and ready to proceed to business, a long silence ensued, designed to enhance the effect of that which was to break it. Then the Pope, weeping bitterly, arose, and delivered an indictment of the Emperor, in the form of a political sermon, too characteristic of Innocent IV, of papal animosity to Frederic II, and of the times, to be omitted. He took, for his text, part of the 12th verse of the 1st chapter of the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow;" and thus proceeded: "Even as Christ was transpierced with five wounds, so am I with five griefs. My first grief, is that the Mongols with savage cruelty devastate Christian lands; my second, that the Greeks scorn the bosom of their mother Church, ay, even attacking her as a stepmother; my third, that heresy is gaining the upper hand, especially in the Lombard cities, and manifold abuses are everywhere springing up; my fourth, that the Godless brood of Kharizmia occupy the Holy Land, extirpating Christians and Christianity in Christianity's birthplace; my fifth and last grief relates to the Emperor. He, the Head of all temporal power, the bounden protector and champion of the Church, is become her fiercest adversary, and the avowed enemy of all her servants. The Church has ever desired peace; has ever been ready to make compensation, if, which seems impossible, she should chance to have wronged any one; but Frederic has hardened his heart, and rushed from sin to sin. He can be proved a perjured traitor, a violator of treaties, a sacrilegious robber of churches, a defiler of the sanctuary, a heretic. He took the oath of allegiance to Innocent III, for Apulia and Sicily; promised a yearly tribute, confirmed the right of the Holy See to Ancona, Ravenna, Spoleto, and other places; he swore faithfully to protect

Honourable III ; at his reconciliation with Gregory IX, he swore to obey the commands of the Church, not to harm her partisans, or infringe her liberty. The very last year, through his plenipotentiaries, he renewed all those promises; but which of all these solemnly sanctioned documents" (holding up a number of parchments) "has he ever observed? What treaty of peace has he not broken? What oath has he sworn and not been perjured? Violently he seizes upon Church domains and Church treasures; rapaciously he keeps bishoprics and rectories vacant, to the perdition of souls; ecclesiastics he taxes and drags before lay tribunals; church vassals he compels to do him homage, and he encroaches upon the rights of the military Orders, those champions of Christendom. Prelates, who, in dutiful obedience to a papal command, were hastening to form a Council and deliberate upon momentous questions, relative to concerns the most sacred, he captured, and leaves to pine in wretched dungeons. Nay, the Popes themselves have not escaped his calumnies, insults, and persecutions. In defiance of his excommunication, he causes the divine rites to be celebrated in his presence, boldly asserting, contrary to the indisputable word of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the successor of the Apostle Peter has no power to bind or to loose. Yet has the Church, consonantly to her conciliatory nature and functions, offered to this prince, rather to this sacrilegious polluter of the sanctuary, to show him all the grace and lenity that may consist with God's honour and her own, requiring only the instant release of the imprisoned prelates; when she will mercifully agree to a compromise upon all other points, or submit them to the judgment of impartial spiritual and temporal princes. But the more is spontaneously offered to the Emperor, the higher rise his usurping demands, and none can mistake his ultimate object, to wit, to eradicate the Church, and, with her, all worship of God from the earth, in order that he alone, a detestable idol, may be adored by a miserable and forlorn generation. In his realms he founds, not holy cloisters, but Mohammedan towns. To the disgrace and ruin of Christianity, he gives the Holy Land to a Mohammedan, as is proved by his offer to recover it. He commits his Christian wife

to the custody of Mohammedan eunuchs; gives his daughter in marriage to an excommunicated heretic [Vatazes], follows Mohammedan manners and customs, and is not ashamed, he, the temporal Head of Christendom, of illicit connexions with Mohammedan harlots."

As the Pope resumed his seat, Taddeo rose to reply; but to accusations, as vague as they were bitter, he could make only vague answers. He denied the charges generally; asserted that innocent actions had been misrepresented and distorted into criminality; that the Pope, not the Emperor, had been the violator of treaties; that conventions with Mohammedans were customary in Palestine, and had been approved by Popes; that Mohammedan maidens had attended the court for no unchaste purpose, but solely on account of their skill in feminine arts, such as dancing, embroidery, &c., and that even these artists had been dismissed, when found to give umbrage to the austere morality of his Holiness. He ended by demanding time, for the Emperor either to send definite answers to the charges, or to visit Lyons and vindicate himself in person. This last proposal Innocent scarcely suffered the speaker to enunciate, interrupting him with the passionate exclamation: "God forefend! I dread the snares I have hardly escaped. If he comes, I go! I would not yet be a martyr, nor even immured in a dungeon."

Some wrangling between creatures of the Pope's and the Imperial Ambassador ensued. A fugitive Sicilian prelate accused the Emperor both of licentiousness, and of plundering for the purpose of impoverishing the Church; but was silenced by Taddeo's statement, that the accuser had fled his country, a convicted traitor. To a Spaniard, fiercely denouncing the capture of the intended Fathers of the Council, he answered, that those prelates had proved themselves personal enemies of the Emperor, by refusing, upon their way to join an assembly almost avowedly hostile to him, to hear his explanatory vindication of his conduct; and yet had the Emperor, after a brief captivity, released all except his virulent enemy, the Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina, who, to his face, had anew and repeatedly anathematized him, and a very few of the pre-

lates, who had displayed similar insolence and acrimony.<sup>(41)</sup> The Pope rejected Taddeo's pleas, and pronounced, that, for the seizure of the members of a Council, and innumerable other crimes, the Emperor deserved to be deposed.

These words roused the Embassadors of England and of France; the first, apprehending that the proposed dethronement of the Emperor, must imply the degradation of the children of the English princess, Empress Isabel; the second, simply resenting the Pope's assumption of a power, alike dangerous and deteriorating to temporal sovereignty. They joined Taddeo and his colleagues in pleading for, at the least, such a delay, as might allow the Emperor time to appear in person, if he chose so to do, or to prepare and send a specific answer. The devoted partisans of Innocent opposed even this modest demand; but the crafty pontiff knew better how to effect his purpose, whilst throwing a false hue of moderation over his real violence. He granted a delay of twelve days, which, in that unexpedient age, barely sufficed to convey information of the papal charges and purposes across the Alps, to Turin, and bring back, what might be termed, an extemporaneous answer; but not to allow time, either for the deliberation indispensable upon an occasion so momentous, or for an Emperor's journey in the style befitting his station.

Gualtierio di Ocra, Grand-Chancellor of Sicily, one of the Imperial embassy, hastened to Turin, with his report of what had occurred; and the Emperor's Council was much divided upon the question, whether he should in person repair to Lyons, or merely despatch new envoys thither, fully instructed to clear him of the imputed offences. Frederic himself inclined to the first course, and had even given orders for his journey; but he was dissuaded by representations, that his personal appearance might be construed as an actual acknowledgment of authority in a Church Council to try and sentence him, whilst a mission to vindicate his conduct would less imply subjection. This consideration was decisive. To the original embassy, Frederic added Heinrich von Hohenlohe, the recently elected Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order,

whom the critical state of his affairs had called to his side, the Bishop of Freising, and Pietro delle Vigne, giving them full powers to speak, treat, and conclude for him. But even this brief deliberation had, as the Pope, when so graciously granting time, had confidently anticipated, consumed more than the allotted hours; at the close of the twelfth day, the new envoys, bearing the Emperor's answer, had not appeared.

Innocent, meanwhile, turned this interval to good account, in personal intercourse with all the prelates, not already blindly devoted to him. By dilating upon Frederic's faults, and giving the worst colour to his every act, by working upon their attachment to the Church, and awakening fear for her interests and her usefulness, should any temporal supremacy be established over her, as well as upon their more selfish feelings, he convinced numbers that the power of deposing monarchs ought to be, and therefore was, vested in the Pope and Council conjointly. He skilfully excited the ambition of some Cardinals to exercise such power, by encouraging them to look forward to a prospect of the papacy, stimulated the vanity of the more vulgar-minded, by appropriating visible, palpable ensigns to their high station, as Princes of the Church—the red hat and stockings distinguishing Cardinals, are said to have been first assigned to their dignity, at this Council. One way or another the Pope was so successful, that upon the 17th of July, when the twelve days expired, he felt little doubt of the Council's being ready to assume, and exercise as he should dictate, the right of deposing sovereigns.

Vainly did Taddeo represent the impossibility of receiving a deliberate answer from Turin in the short space of time allowed, and implore a further delay of three days, within which, he was confident, either the Emperor himself or an Imperial messenger would reach Lyons. Innocent would not resign the advantage he derived from the non-appearance of either the Emperor or his specific answer to the charges.<sup>(42)</sup> Inexorably he proceeded to open the third session; but did so in appearance pacifically, and as if solely for the arrangement of affairs, untroubled by clashing interests. He proposed regulations touching the recovery and defence of the Holy Land, and touching the

celebration of the festival of Our Lady's Nativity. When these were agreed to, he ordered documents respecting the territorial possessions of the Holy See, to be laid before the Fathers of the Church, for their signature. Against this act, which was the actual prejudication of one of the questions in dispute betwixt the Pope and the Emperor, by ratifying all the contested papal pretensions, relative to the Matildan heritage, Taddeo instantly and strongly protested. Innocent, disregarding this protest, repeated his call upon the prelates to sign. They obeyed; and as they signed, Taddeo, with a loud voice exclaimed: "I appeal from this Council, at which so many prelates, so many lay embassies, are wanting, to a future, more truly Œcumenic, and more independent Council. I appeal from Pope Innocent, the inveterate enemy of my Lord the Emperor, to a future, milder, and more Christianly-tempered Pope."

Innocent replied: "All prelates have been summoned, and of those wanting most are kept away by Frederic's tyranny. Too long, and not without manifold inconveniences and sacrifices, have Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Princes, and princely Embassadors, already waited and waited in vain, for his humble submission. No longer shall his arrogance, wickedness, and deceit, elude their merited punishment."

At this juncture, the Pope, while preparing to pronounce the sentence, was unexpectedly interrupted: William of Poweric,<sup>(43)</sup> one of the English envoys, rose, and announcing himself as the plenipotentiary of the English nation, as well as of the English King, laid before the Council the complaints of the clergy, nobility, and people of England. These complaints related to the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of the Legate Martin, and the countless swarms of Italians, who, ignorant of the English language, as of English customs and usages, were intruded by Innocent into the various benefices of the English Church, carrying off annually upwards of 60,000 lbs. of silver from the impoverished country. The complainants, he said, declared the irrevocable resolution of the whole nation, with the single exception, perhaps, of the King—a too submissive son of the Church!—no



longer to endure such wrongs; but, also, their reliance upon the paternal clemency of his Holiness, for the redress of those wrongs, by which he would knit all England in bonds of gratitude to himself.

A long silence followed this speech. Then Innocent, observing that the matters thus brought forward were of a kind to require much and leisurely consideration, despite the Englishman's urgency, deferred that consideration to a future session, and returned to his former topic, his denunciation of the Emperor. He now, beginning with an assumed mildness that gradually changed into virulence, again rehearsed the previously enumerated charges against the Emperor, with the addition of having employed an assassin to murder the late Duke of Bavaria; concluding as follows: "For these, and many other abominable, execrable crimes and outrages, we, after diligent inquiry and mature deliberation with our brothers the Cardinals and the holy assembly of the Church here present, in virtue of the authority conferred by our Lord Jesus Christ upon St. Peter and his successors, pronounce that this prince, who has shown himself unworthy of the Empire and of his kingdoms, as of all dignities and honours, and who for his sins is already rejected by God [meaning excommunicated], is deprived of, and deposed from, all these, his rightfully forfeited dignities and honours.<sup>(44)</sup> All persons, bound or pledged to him by oath of allegiance or otherwise, we release and free from the bonds of such oaths and duties; and, in the fulness of our apostolic power, distinctly and positively command, that no one henceforward obey him as Emperor or King. Whoever, slighting or evading this command, shall obey, or, either by act or word, assist him, shall thereby incur excommunication. In Germany, let those Princes, in whom is vested the right of election, forthwith elect a new king. For the Sicilian realms, we, with the assistance of our brothers the Cardinals, will provide."

This violent, and, in the details, unprecedented, proceeding of the Pope's, appears, notwithstanding his preparatory labours, to have taken the great majority of the Council by surprise, and to have shocked and revolted the feelings even of those members whom he had won to his

side, filling them with alarm and regret. But no idea of resistance was thereby awakened; even the Imperial Envoys only beat their breasts, lamenting over the harsh and unjust treatment of their sovereign, and the probable consequences. To these emotions Taddeo gave audible utterance, ejaculating, "Oh day of wrath, of calamity, of woe! Now will the heretics rejoice, the Kharizmians tyrannize over the Holy Land, the horde of Mongols overwhelm Europe!" Unheeding the general consternation, the Pope sternly resumed: "My part I have done: the rest God will direct according to His holy will." Hereupon he began the *Te Deum*, and all who thought with him joined in chaunting that hymn of exultation and thanksgiving; which assuredly, could, under no aspect of the transaction, be other than most unseasonable and indecent. Even had the Emperor been as criminal as Innocent depicted him, the guilt and punishment of a Christian Sovereign should have been matter of regret and lamentation, not of rejoicing. When the chaunt ceased, another solemn pause ensued. Then, the Pope and the prelates flung lighted torches upon the ground, to extinguish by trampling upon them; in token that thus were the Emperor's earthly success and splendour extinguished. This act and joining in the *Te Deum* were the whole share taken by the Council in deposing the Emperor; and the haughty Pope would, very probably, have considered any more active participation, an encroachment upon his prerogative.

If the personal ill-will to Frederic II—which Innocent IV appears to have inherited from Gregory IX—prompted this assumption of power to depose monarchs, yet was its exercise not confined to his case. Some nobles and prelates of Portugal laid before the Council complaints of misgovernment by their King, Sancho II; whereupon the Pope—uninfluenced upon this occasion by preconceived, or official prejudice, but glad, perhaps, of an opportunity to make manifest similar implacable severity, and the same assumption of power, where no suspicion of personal feelings could exist,—without any investigation of the truth or falsehood of these complaints, at once, as though undisputed and absolute master of Europe, pronounced

the reigning monarch deposed, and the kingdom of Portugal transferred to his brother, the *Infante* Don Alfonso. In like manner, he relieved the kingdom of Hungary from the vassalage to the Empire, always claimed by the emperors, and recently, as the price of assistance against the Mongols, offered by Bela.

With regard to the business, for which professedly the Council had been convoked, *i.e.* the support of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the recovery of the Holy Land, and the defence of Europe against the Mongols, this was quickly despatched when its real purpose, concurrence in the deposal of Frederic by the Pope, was accomplished. To Baldwin, in order to afford him the means of enlisting mercenaries for the support of his tottering throne, was assigned half a year's income of every Canon absent, without valid cause, from his Cathedral. For the recovery of the Holy Land, the Council decreed, that, during the next four years, no war should be waged, no tournament held, throughout Europe;<sup>(45)</sup> but all men's energies be exclusively devoted to the organization of a Crusade for this great object, towards which, the Pope and Cardinals should, during those years, contribute a tenth of their respective incomes, and all other ecclesiastics, a twentieth of theirs. Pilgrims were forbidden to visit Palestine until the Crusade, which they were directed to join, should be ready. With regard to the Mongols, the danger of Europe appeared to be diminishing; and, though the anti-Mongol Crusade, the promise of which had converted the Prince of Halitsh, was virtually proclaimed, by assuring to the defenders of Europe against the Golden Horde, all the indulgences granted to defenders of the Holy Land, it was not enforced as an imperative duty; and Daniel ere long recanted his desertion of the Greek Communion. This relapse into schism, when it, somewhat later, occurred, Innocent endeavoured to compensate, by sending the Father-Guardian of the Minorites, with some of his friars, to convert Vatazes to the Roman Catholic Church—of course, a fruitless mission.

When the extraordinary proceedings of the Council, sanctioning the refusal to wait for his answer, the renewal of his excommunication, and his deposal, were reported to

the Emperor, they called forth the burst of anger to be expected. But the mode in which that anger expressed itself is remarkable, as showing, even if the speech ascribed to Frederic be the recording chronicler's invention, the immense, the, to modern apprehension inconceivable, value, attached, in early ages, to symbols. The enlightened Frederic is reported to have exclaimed: "Me, have the Pope and his Council deposed! Me, have they despoiled of my crowns! Bring me my crowns! Let me see if they be lost!" His several crowns were immediately produced; when, snatching one, he placed it on his head, and in raised accents resumed: "My crowns I still have, and neither Pope nor Council shall rob me of them without a sanguinary struggle! What impudently arrogant presumption, to think with words, empty as they are wantonly arbitrary, to hurl ME, whose equal none amongst the princes of the earth presumes to call himself, from the pinnacle of Imperial sovereignty! But I ought to thank the Pope for thus proving himself as unjust a judge as he is a bitter enemy; and so, releasing me from the restraint imposed by veneration for his sacred office, leaving me at full liberty to hate, and wage war against him."

Both Pope and Emperor now appealed, as usual, to the kings and princes of Christendom, if indeed the papal announcement of an act of authority to be passively received, may be so termed; for such was Innocent's communication to them. The simultaneous address of the Emperor, was a sort of protest against the Pope's assumption of power to which he was not entitled, and against the contempt of all established and recognised forms of law, with which the Council, neither examining competent witnesses, nor hearing his justification, and treating imputations that he denied, and could have disproved, as admitted and notorious facts, had condemned and sentenced him. He added a warning to all princes, that, if such usurpation were tolerated, all, in their turn, must suffer. To this protest Innocent replied in an encyclic epistle, some passages of which must be translated to exemplify the extravagant pretensions of a pope, whose aspirations to despotic authority far transcend those of any of his predecessors; and are, likewise, far more prac-

tical. In one place he says: "The Emperor denies that all things, all persons, are subject to the Holy See; as if he, who shall hereafter judge the angels of Heaven, should not be entitled to judge earthly princes. Even in the Old Testament priests depose unworthy kings; how much more is the Vicegerent of Christ authorized to deal with him, who, having heretically abandoned the Church of Christ, is self-doomed to Hell. The assertion that Constantine first invested the Roman See with temporal power, is erroneous; this having been naturally and unconditionally conferred upon the first occupant of that See, by Christ himself, the true King and Priest, of the order of Melchisedech. Christ founded not merely a pontifical, but also a regal sovereignty, and gave, to St. Peter and his successors, power over the realms of earth and of Heaven, as is sufficiently indicated by the plurality of the keys." In another place is found: "The elective kingdom of Germany is united to the Empire, which latter dignity the Pope transferred, as a fief or *beneficium*, from the East to the West. No one disputes the Pope's right to crown the elected King, Emperor; and he, by receiving the Imperial crown from the Pope's hand, binds himself, as antiquity teaches and time present confirms, in the bonds of allegiance and subjection (*fidelitatis et subjectionis*) to the Pope." It may here be worth while to mention, in proof of the absolute novelty of such pretensions, that St. Bernard—whose doctrine the Church, by his canonization, clearly recognised as hers,—not only, as may be remembered, urged Lothar not to admit the Pope's claim to the suzerainty of Sicily,<sup>(46)</sup> but actually denied all temporal authority whatever to the Pope, as completely as Arnold of Brescia himself. In a treatise dedicated to Pope Eugenius III,<sup>(47)</sup> he thus addresses him: "Try, as a temporal ruler, to be the successor of the Apostle, or, as the successor of the Apostle, to exercise temporal authority, and you fail. Grasping at both loses both." To return from the Saint to the Pope: after the above extracts from Innocent's address to the sovereigns of Europe, can his assertion, that the deposed Emperor had had the benefit of every law, form, &c.; since, whenever his guilt had been dis-

cussed in the Pope's Council, some of the Cardinals had been directed to plead his cause; which (without his instructions) they, of course, did much better than his own ambassadors, with them, or he himself, could have done, be worth adding?

Of the sovereigns of Europe thus addressed, only the Kings of England and France appear to have concerned themselves about the dissensions between Pope and Emperor. Or rather only the last, for Innocent so wantonly exasperated England, that Henry's interference presently merged in a separate short-lived quarrel with the See of Rome. By alternate threats and promises—although refusing formally to redress the evils complained of, he solemnly assured the Envoys that such evils should not recur—he had cajoled the English prelates into affixing their signatures both to the excommunication of their liege Lord's brother-in-law, and to the document by which King John had promised tribute. But no sooner had they departed upon their return home, than he not only broke these engagements, persevering in every abuse against which they had protested, but sent a requisition to every English prelate, to furnish him, vassal-like, troops for his war against the Emperor. Again, King, nobility, and clergy, jointly and separately, respectfully represented their wrongs to the Pope, soliciting redress. The only answer, if answer it can be called, to their remonstrating petitions, was a letter to a Cistercian Abbot, commanding him directly, to send to his Holiness, a supply of the beautiful gold ornamental trimming that he had noticed upon the garments of the English ecclesiastics—probably the gold lace before mentioned as a celebrated English manufacture, or the gold wrought robes, that had so dazzled the Normans and French.<sup>(48)</sup> This was followed, ere long, by a demand for the property of all ecclesiastics dying intestate, and for a sum of 6000 marks within the month. Even the feeble-minded Henry now shared the general indignation; and Innocent, enraged at such resistance to his will, despite the remonstrances of the Cardinals against alienating, at so critical a juncture, the only really obedient country, was about to lay England under an interdict,

when Henry took fright, and averted the evil by abandoning the cause of his subjects, with that of his Imperial brother-in-law.

Upon the unhesitating acceptance of the Council's decrees by the devout Lewis IX, Innocent had fully relied, notwithstanding the monarch's previous rejection of the pope-offered Empire, for his brother, the Comte d'Artois. And well might he so rely, the royal piety being such, as seemed incompatible with resistance to the Head of the Church; whilst Innocent himself, fearing to provoke additional hostility, had, like Gregory IX, sedulously avoided irritating kingly susceptibility, by any interference with his church-patronage. Neither Pope had, indeed, sanctioned the claim of right, but they had connived at his nominations. The excessive devotion of Lewis gives so much weight to the favourable view, which he will be found to have taken of Frederic's conduct upon this occasion, and to his disapprobation of Innocent's, that it must be demonstrated by an instance or two.

St. Lewis did not quite emulate St. Elizabeth in her exaggeration of duties inculcated by Christianity, or by Romanism, but, at a distance, he trod in her footsteps. His submission to the penances imposed by his confessor went far beyond fasting at his command, even to allowing himself to be by him scourged; ay, and scourged so severely, that, upon the death of one confessor, amongst the sins he revealed to the successor, is said to have been his great dislike of the pain he suffered under the operation. He performed in person many of those services in the tendance of the sick, in which she had delighted; and so scrupulously went through the regular Passion-week ceremony of washing the feet of twelve poor men, that, upon occasion of a beggar, whose pedal ablution had been committed to one of his courtier-associates in the office, complaining that, in his case, the purification of the digital interstices had been omitted, the King with his own royal fingers made good the neglect of his less self-sacrificing partner. Again, he was, as a penance, making a sort of pilgrimage, barefoot, to divers churches, when a leper, from the opposite side of a very muddy street or road, solicited alms of him. The established mode of giving

to those wretched sufferers, personally, from the supposed infectious nature of their malady, as much abhorred as dreaded, was to fling down money upon the ground, which they were not even to pick up until the donor should be at a safe distance. But Lewis waded through the mire across the street, and kissed the leper's hand, in which he placed the money.

Could such piety have been susceptible of increase, in a man of reasonably good understanding, it must at this moment have sprung up from his firm belief that, recently, in the last agonies of a deadly malady, even whilst his attendants were disputing whether life were or were not extinct, he had been miraculously cured, either by contact with the relics of St. Denis, or by mentally vowing a Crusade, to utter which vow was the first use he made of his restored speech.<sup>(49)</sup> And yet this monarch—who moreover nourished a bigot's antipathy to the troubadours, musicians, &c.,<sup>(50)</sup> forming the delight of Frederic and his court, and who hardly seems to have dared dispute the Pope's abstract right to depose guilty sovereigns—felt that Innocent had acted harshly, and unreasonably, if not guilty of actual injustice, towards Frederic; and he zealously endeavoured to soften the acrimonious pontiff. Might not this simple fact be almost accepted as the Emperor's acquittal—not assuredly of all faults; one, that he unfortunately shared with many great men, *viz.*, levity, at least, with respect to women, being undeniable; but—of the heavy charges brought against him by Gregory IX and Innocent IV?

The Emperor despatched Pietro delle Vigne, with other envoys, of higher birth if of inferior abilities, to the French Court, to confirm and improve the King's favourable disposition. They were instructed to represent strongly the necessity of resisting such papal attacks upon monarchs; and to implore Lewis, instead of permitting a Crusade against a Christian sovereign instead of against mis-believers, to be preached in France, to persuade the Pope to revoke his excommunication of the Emperor. They were further instructed to offer the royal Crusader, even under existing circumstances, all the assistance in ships, recruits, and provisions, at the Emperor's disposal—and



few single fleets could now compete with the Sicilian—assuring him at the same time, that, could he obtain the desired revocation, the Emperor would either again take the Cross himself, or send his son, the King of the Romans, with a large army to assist him in the recovery of the Holy Land.

The zealous Crusader neither lost a moment, nor neglected any means at his command, to achieve, if possible, this important and genuinely Christian object. He hastened, about the end of November, to visit the Pope at Clugny, whither the Holy Father had removed from Lyons. And it may be stated, as illustrating the size and magnificence, already mentioned, of this mother Abbey of the Order, that the Pope, being there domiciliated with his whole papal Court, then composed of twelve cardinals, two patriarchs, three archbishops, fifteen bishops, with their several trains, besides mitred abbots and others of less dignity, received the King of France with his Court—including those of the two Queens, his mother and his wife, and his brothers and sisters with their attendants—Baldwin of Constantinople and the *Infantes* of Castile and Aragon with their several trains, besides individual nobles, knights, and ecclesiastics. And all these persons, the Abbot of Abbots of Clugny is averred to have lodged, without disturbing a single monk, or giving up a single room or cell appropriated to conventual use. During seven days, the pious King laboured, in private interviews, to assuage Innocent's enmity to a prince, whom he had once professed to love, and who was disposed to render such services to the great cause of Christendom. But Innocent was immoveably bent upon the destruction, or at least the dethronement, of the Swabian dynasty; and the utmost, that Lewis could wring from him, was the adjourning of his final decision until Easter; against which epoch, Lewis would endeavour to obtain yet larger concessions from the Emperor.

At Easter, the French King again visited the Pope, authorized to make every concession consistent with the rights of the Empire, and the honour of the Emperor. Amongst others, to offer Frederic's resignation of the whole of his European dominions to his son, Conrad, in order to

spend the remainder of his life in warring with the Mohammedans for his kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>(51)</sup> But no concession, at least none that Lewis deemed it fitting to ask of a Sovereign—and, indeed, what greater could he ask?—allayed the rancour of the Pope, who now declared that Frederic had too often broken his promises to Gregory IX and to himself, ever again to be believed; <sup>(52)</sup> and that never, under any circumstances, would he cancel the excommunication of either father or son, Conrad being at this time a sinner hardened by about seventeen winters.

Lewis, notwithstanding his veneration for the successor of St. Peter, was shocked at such unchristian implacability in the self-entitled, and generally-acknowledged, viceroy of HIM, who redeemed mankind with his own blood. His less bigoted great vassals were yet more disgusted; their perceptions of the Pope's injustice and arrogance being quickened by their having personal grievances—if the King had not—of which to complain. Innocent had not been as forbearing with respect to their rights of church-patronage, as he had in regard to the monarch's, but had rather superseded than encroached upon them; and a number of the most aggrieved had confederated for the maintenance of these rights. Headed by the Dukes of Burgundy<sup>(53)</sup> and of Britany, and the Earls of Angoulême and St. Pol, they now announced their determination to adopt, in their own principalities and fiefs, the Sicilian laws relative to clerical encroachment and assumption of privileges; solemnly swearing to stand by each other, with sword and purse.

But Innocent IV, as sagacious and crafty as he was violent, found means to disperse the threatening storm. He cajoled the French King, he caressed and flattered him, granting him, individually, every immunity and privilege in ecclesiastical affairs, that he so fiercely denied to the Emperor, or that so bigoted a Papist could desire. The nobles he more openly bribed, dealing with them separately, granting indulgences and church fiefs, even giving money to such as were under pecuniary embarrassments. One by one they dropped off, till the confederation ceased to exist. The King, though he never condemned, or took

part against, the Emperor, tacitly abandoned his cause, devoting himself exclusively to preparations for his Crusade.<sup>(54)</sup>

Throughout the dominions of the Emperor, the effect, wrought by the audacious sentence pronounced against him and the King of the Romans, appears to have varied, nearly according to the interests of the parties concerned. In Germany, the deposal of the sovereign, in virtue of the renewed excommunication, by a Council, calling itself Ecumenic, though hardly containing any prelate of the Empire, and promulgated by an alien—the Italian Bishop of Ferrara was the Legate appointed for this purpose—appears to have exasperated almost all the lay princes, as an impudent attempt to usurp their rights. But, on the other hand, the loyalty of those, to whom the attainment of the office conferring such despotic power was open, to wit, the spiritual princes, was evidently shaken.

In the Sicilies, the people, happy and prosperous under Frederic's equal administration of the just laws he had published, seem to have troubled themselves but little, about the Pope's endeavours to deprive them of their sovereign. The chief effect there was, that the Emperor, as before intimated, discarded the forbearance he had hitherto observed towards ecclesiastics. He had, in some measure, connived at—rather repressing than denying—their claim to exemption from taxation and lay jurisdiction; he now placed them, in those respects, upon a footing more nearly approaching to equality with the laity. He caused friars, monks, and even prelates, to be tried<sup>(55)</sup>—conformably to his code—by the ordinary tribunals, when accused of treason; and, when convicted, to be either executed or banished, according to the degree of their criminality; for prelates, deprivation of their sees and exile were the common doom. He denounced the penalties of confiscation and exile, against whomsoever should be found publishing the papal sentence of excommunication and deposal, in his realms. He required the taking of a new oath of allegiance to himself and his son, and pledged his word never to make peace with the Pope, without securing the safety of his loyal clerical subjects.

In northern and central Italy, the sentences of excom-

munication and deposal were received, as might be expected, with acclamations by one party, with indignation by the other. Intelligence of a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded between the Pope and the Lombard League, binding both parties not to treat for a separate peace with him, had reached the Emperor simultaneously with those sentences. He did not give the allies time to begin hostilities; but, falling back upon Pavia, summoned the Ghibelines around him, gathered together the forces of Bergamo, Cremona, Lodi, Parma, and Reggio, in addition to those of Pavia, divided them into two separate armies, with one of which he fell upon the Milanese territory from the south-west, whilst Enzo led the other across the Adda, to invade it from the east. Milan, if somewhat disconcerted by this twofold attack, was so but for the moment. She was then in the fresh vigour of despotism, grafted upon democracy. The League at large was unusually confident, having, in addition to its flatteringly important alliance with the Pope, established a good understanding, fast ripening into confederacy, with some German malcontents: whilst any misgivings, that might chance to arise, were speedily dispersed by the vehement exhortations of Cardinal Gregorio di Montelunga; whom, as though to justify Frederic's detention of his bitter enemies, Innocent had again sent to Lombardy, to stimulate the Guelph spirit of ambition commonly there prevalent.

The autumn was consumed in much fighting, without any useful result. In one of these indecisive actions, Enzo, too eagerly pursuing the defeated and fugitive Lombards, was made prisoner by the Milanese, and rescued by the men of Reggio and Parma. At least, this is the generally credited account of the occurrence, and that most consonant with subsequent events; although some, bitterly Guelph, writers have asserted, that he obtained his liberty by pledging the Emperor, as well as himself, never again to set foot on Milanese territory.<sup>(56)</sup> Had he done so, the breach of his pledged faith would assuredly have been brought forward, as a plea for his subsequent hard doom.

Amidst these hostilities, Frederic was informed by the

Earl of Savoy, that he had captured the Venetian members of the hostile Council, as they crossed his dominions upon their way home. The Emperor thanked the Earl for this mark of attachment, but requested him to dismiss his prisoners. The desire was obeyed; and the Venetians visited the Imperial camp, to express both their gratitude for their release, and their disapprobation of the proceedings of the Pope and Council: when a conversation is reported to have taken place, showing something of the usual mediæval notions relative to political economy, intermingled with ideas considerably in advance of the age. The Emperor is said, after complaining of Venice for having, at least tacitly, concurred in those proceedings of the Pope and Council, which they now condemned, to have remarked, that peace was as much the interest of that commercial republic, as of his own dominions, ending in these words: "I know that Venice derives great profit from her trade with my kingdoms, but I am quite aware that my subjects profit equally thereby; and, if you are content with what is reasonable, and advantageous to both parties, I am ready to treat for peace." One of the deputation, Canari, frankly acknowledged, that trade with the Emperor's realms was very beneficial to Venice; when his colleague Renier, of a less advanced school of statesmanship, endeavoured, by winks and signs, to check a degree of candour, that he deemed impolitic. Neither the action nor the motive escaped Frederic, who, laughing, said: "Never mind; he tells me nothing that I do not already know." And a commercial treaty, upon equal terms, was concluded.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### FREDERIC II.

*Strife between Pope and Emperor—Conspiracies—Reciprocal Accusations—War in Lombardy—Search for an Anti-King—Henry Raspe elected—his Success—and Death—Siege of Parma.* [1246—1248.]

IF in northern and central Italy, no decided preponderance had as yet been gained by either party, the balance of success had been in favour of the Emperor. In the March of Ancona, the Guelphs had been defeated in a pitched battle. At Parma, the Fieschi, whose Ghibeline politics had been completely changed by the elevation of their kinsman to St. Peter's Chair, were foiled in an attempt made by them and their kinsman, the Bishop, Alberto Sanvitale, son of a sister of Innocent's, to excite a Guelph rebellion. The Ghibeline spirit of the city proved too strong for them. They were defeated and expelled; their houses were demolished, the revenue of the see was confiscated, at least for the life of the rebel prelate, and the publication of the papal sentence, excommunicating and deposing the Emperor, was prohibited on pain to the transgressor of losing his hand.

At Florence, indeed, a struggle between Guelphs and Ghibelines, originating in disagreement as to the treatment of heretics, had ended differently. Katharist doctrines had for very many years been covertly spreading in that city, and Innocent IV, soon after his election, as if to neutralize the accusation repeatedly brought against Popes, of connivance at heresy in Milan, ordered a strict inquisition into religious opinion, at Florence. He committed the business chiefly to the Bishop; who performed

the duty enjoined him with horrible alacrity; with a zeal quickened by previous restraint; he and his subordinate assistants seemed to revel in the horrors day by day more characterizing Inquisitorial procedure, as this gradually developed itself into what ultimately became the one universal as terrific tribunal. Especially they stimulated delation in families. Persecution, as ever, inflamed enthusiasm; Katharists of both sexes now boldly avowed opinions which, till then, they had cautiously dissembled; at Florence, executions by fire became the order of the day, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Imperial Podestà; who, however, confined his efforts to remonstrance, respectful though earnest. At length sectarian fortitude began to fail, and about the time of the assembling of the Council of Lyons, many of those who were summoned before the dreaded Inquisitors, professed repentance of their past errors, soliciting readmission into the bosom of the Church. But the Emperor, when deposed by the Pope in Council, no longer repressed his philosophic tendency to toleration in the vain hope of conciliating a determinedly implacable enemy. He now commanded the Podestà, positively to forbid the infliction of death for erroneous belief. The Papal Judges did not submit to this prohibition. They knew that an immense majority of the Florentines were both Orthodox and Guelph; and, calling them together, they twice gave battle to the Ghibelines and Katharists; who, from their inferior numbers, were defeated upon both occasions. The Pope's faction triumphed, and at Florence, in defiance of the Emperor's commands, heretics were either converted, or burnt.

This change in Frederic's conduct, rather than in his principles, with respect to the treatment of mistakes in religion, was not confined to Tuscany. In Sicily and Apulia, notwithstanding his quarrel with Gregory IX and Innocent IV, heresy had hitherto been held a crime. Persons suspected of this offence had there been brought before prelates appointed to investigate their faith, who were ordered, if they found it erroneous, to endeavour, conformably to the system of Innocent III, by admonition, explanation, and reasoning, to convert them. This pious

labour was not to be impatiently abridged ; but, when clearly inefficacious, the convicted heretics had been delivered over to the lay tribunals, for sentence and execution ; which, in compliance with papal requisition, had generally implied death. This cruel compliance henceforward ceased, secondary punishments superseding the flames. In fact, in this and other respects, Frederic now acted as, virtually if not nominally, Head of the Church there. He even took upon himself to apportion the expense of the religious instruction of his subjects to their wants ; and, judging the number of bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical benefices, in his southern realms, excessive, he left those, which he deemed superfluous, vacant. His enhancing the stringency of a former edict, prohibiting money payments to the Roman See was no innovation, but consonant to the policy of divers monarchs, whose orthodoxy never was questioned. Apprehending that it had been disobeyed, he now affixed heavy penalties, in purse and person, to the transgression of this law ; and ordered a strict guard to be kept upon ports and high roads, sanctioning, when suspicion of surreptitious transmission of the sums claimed by the Pope was strong, the examination of the books of merchants and money-changers—then the officiated as bankers.

Innocent IV, following the example of Gregory IX, now let a swarm of Mendicant Friars loose upon Apulia and Sicily. Their instructions were to traverse both realms in all directions, make the excommunication and deposal of Frederic publicly and universally known, excite the common people against him, and at the same time collect money for the Pope's exchequer. Frederic, who was now in Apulia, finding it impossible to repress the active enmity of these emissaries, declared that no one could claim toleration in a land, of which he stubbornly refused to obey the laws ; and therefore ordered the Mendicant Friars, upon whom all warnings to this effect were vain, to be safely conveyed beyond the frontiers of his dominions : a measure approved by the secular clergy, seldom well disposed towards the friars, who officiously interfered with their parochial functions. During their expulsion, many of the friars publicly cursed the sovereign who banished



them ; and one, chancing to meet him, clutched the bridle of his horse, to pour forth a torrent of vituperative execrations in his face. The exasperated attendants were about effectually to prevent a repetition of the offence, by the individual offender ; but Frederic checked their rage, quietly saying : " Let him alone ! He would fain be a martyr, and thus a saint ; but not through me shall he earn the honours of canonization." The majority of the friars, however, submitted meekly to their expulsion, observing that, in this world, their home was everywhere and nowhere. The only consequent inconvenience was the loss of the theological professors to the University of Naples, in which capacity the Emperor had again habitually employed Dominicans. Again, he applied to the Abbot of Montecassino for substitutes ; and again the place of the exiles was ably supplied by monks from that erudite monastery.

Innocent had, in like manner, to find demagogue substitutes for his banished friars, and he sought them everywhere. He addressed epistles to the prelates, the parochial clergy, the nobles, the municipal authorities, and even to the whole population of Apulia and Sicily, in which he loaded the Emperor with opprobrium, and commanded the receiver, or reader, of his letters, immediately to rise, " shake off the yoke of the accursed Nero, to whom they were no longer bound by any oath," and return into the fold of the Church. He moreover authorized Cardinals Riniero Capoccio, an Apulian, and Stefano de Romania, or Romagna, to raise armies against Frederic in his own dominions ; and employ such other means as they might think expedient, for converting Ghibelines, spurring Guelphs to action, and accomplishing the overthrow of the Emperor.

The papal letters and the means which the Cardinals deemed it proper to employ, proved efficacious to a degree which, one would fain hope, exceeded the wishes entertained by the Spiritual Head—if not of Christendom, yet of the largest body of Christians. But the most devout Papists can hardly indulge such a hope. Individuals in whom Frederic reposed most confidence, as Pandolfo

Fasanella, for years his faithful and active Tuscan Podestà, Giacomo Morra, one of his most trusted counsellors, and Andrea di Cigala, Grand-Constable, were seduced into a conspiracy with the Conte di San Severino, the head of an hereditarily and inveterately Guelph family, for, not the dethronement only, but, the assassination of their anathematized liege Lord and benefactor. During the winter of 1245-6, the plot ripened in secrecy. Cardinal Riniero assembled an army, with which he held himself in readiness to join and support the conspirators, as soon as they should throw off the mask; and all arrangements were complete for the perpetration of the regicide at Grosseto—a town of central Italy, where Frederic then resided—seemingly by Fasanella and Morra themselves, whose high position afforded them ample opportunity for the crime. So certain was the success of the plot deemed, that the Bishop of Bamberg, as he returned home from the Papal Court at Lyons, publicly announced the immediate death of the Emperor by the hands of his own vassals; thus proclaiming the foreknowledge there obtained of the contemplated murder.

At this juncture, very little prior to the moment prefixed for the perpetration, something awakened the suspicions of the Countess of Caserta, a high minded, loyal woman. She followed up the casually obtained clue; satisfied herself that some nefarious design was in agitation, and communicated such information as she possessed to her sovereign. Inquiries were instantly set on foot, which resulted in the corroboration of her intelligence, by the confession of some of the conspirators, under the influence of either repentance or fear. The murderous portion of the plot, was of course foiled; and Frederic hastened to seek the more distant culprits. He had no difficulty in finding them. So securely had the Apulian confederates built upon the consummation, at the preconcerted time, of the murder, by those who had undertaken it, that, upon the day appointed, they rose in arms, announcing by proclamation the death of Frederic; Cigala, in virtue of his authority as Grand-Constable, took possession, unopposed, of several castles, and Cardinal Capoccio advanced from

Perugia with his auxiliary army, fully confident that the continental portion, at least, of the Sicilian Kingdom, was recovered for the Holy See.

His exultation was ephemeral. From his visionary triumph he was startled by the appearance of Fasanella and Morra, who, fugitives from the lot of detected guilt, and unwelcome heralds of the Emperor's advance in full force against their confederates, met him on his march. For so well and promptly had Frederic arranged his repressive measures, and so cordially was he supported by the Apulians, indignant at the treason which they now learned had been brooded amidst them, that scarcely had the assembled conspirators time to take refuge in the two strong castles of Scala and Capoccio. The first of these was speedily mastered; and, on the 31st of March, 1246, the Cardinal's army was completely routed by the Imperial General Eboli. On the other hand, Capoccio was resolutely defended by San Severino and others of the revolted nobles; and for months resisted all the battering engines, as well as the repeated assaults, of the equally resolute besiegers. But at length its provisions were exhausted; and, upon the 18th of July, the noble ringleaders, with their little garrison of about 150 men, surrendered at discretion. In the castle were found some twenty ladies, and Frederic's Lombard hostages, whom it had naturally been an object with the rebels to rescue from his power. That they were alive in Apulia, to be so rescued, when it is recollected that the Lombards had for months been at war with the Emperor, abundantly proves Frederic's clemency, whilst again renewing our surprise at the habitual disregard of the safety or peril of hostages, by their insurgent kindred. But there were also found (what it is painful to believe) letters from the Pope, not only containing general instructions for the conduct of the rebellion, but sanctioning the intended regicide.

When the castle fell, the remaining members of the San Severino family were hastening, with the forces they had at length succeeded in raising, to relieve the last stronghold of their chief and his faction. On their way they encountered a body of Imperialists, by whom they

were defeated, and those, who were not slain in the action, were made prisoners.

Frederic, to whom, as appears by his letters, his Sicilian kingdom on either side the Faro was as the apple of his eye, felt this Apulian treason, not only as "the unkindest cut of all," but as a sort of parricide. His resentment was embittered by the fact, that most of the ringleaders were men whom he had highly favoured, in whom he had entirely confided; and he made up his mind to suffer the law to take its stern course. He proposed to have the ringleaders, prior to their execution, paraded through the country, with the papal letters of approbation and encouragement borne before them, as a justification of his own revolt against Innocent's authority. But his Council judged it inexpedient thus to delay their final punishment, and they were at once put to death with the preliminary and concomitant horrors that still too generally, if not universally, form part of the sentence for high treason. Of the house of San Saventino there now remained only a boy about nine years old, whom the friends of his family committed to the care of the Pope, as the last scion of a race martyred in his cause. Innocent educated the boy, and, as soon as he was of fitting age, married him to one of his nieces. The female prisoners were sent to Palermo, there to pass the rest of their days in conventual imprisonment.

Innocent could hardly deny his participation, proved by his own letters, in the plot, even in that for the assassination of Frederic; and the utmost attempted by his apologists, or his eulogists, is to affirm that his name was used by the Mendicant Friars, without sufficient authority. But Innocent himself does not appear to have complained of forgery, and he probably coloured the projected murder to his own mind, as the mere execution of the Council's decree. At all events he retaliated the charge threefold upon Frederic; but resting his accusation upon grounds such as could command the belief only of impassioned Guelphs.

His stories were these. At Lyons, two newly arrived strangers were asserted by the Pope to be emissaries of the Emperor's, sent to murder him; they were seized and

imprisoned; but no proof of guilt was adduced, nor do they appear to have been, either publicly tried, or, without trial, executed, or in any way punished. This accusation rests wholly upon Innocent's professed conviction; the other two were more plausible. One Radulf, an inferior attendant in the Imperial service, having quitted it, as he said, on account of some irregularity in the payment of his salary, had betaken himself to the thronged seat of the General Council, in search of employment. Here Gualtiero di Ocra, one, it will be recollected, of the Imperial envoys, engaged him, as Innocent averred, by extravagant promises of reward, to undertake the assassination of his former master's enemy. An innkeeper, whom Radulf admitted into his confidence, falling sick, revealed the plot in confession to his priest. The secret of confession was not inviolable, towards the Vicar of Heaven; and Radulf, upon the denunciation of the innkeeper's confessor, was arrested. He boldly denied the imputed guilt; was tortured, and upon the rack owned whatever was desired. The third story is, that two Italians, members of a confederacy of forty men, pledged to remove Innocent IV from a world he so grievously disturbed,—an act which would, they were convinced, be pleasing to God and man—revealed the conspiracy. Nor in those days of vehement and little restrained passion, is such an association unlikely to have been formed amongst fiery Italian Ghibelines; but neither are the betrayers of their confederates reported to have implicated the Emperor, as even cognisant, much less as the instigator, of the design; nor did the Pope himself charge him with having actually employed Radulf. Vaguely, however, he imputed all three attempts, whether real or imaginary, to Frederic, professed himself terrified, filled his palace with armed men, and scarcely ventured abroad, even to attend mass.

Frederic judged it necessary, how evidently soever groundless the accusations, to exculpate himself to his former advocate, the French King; and in a letter addressed to him for this purpose, he asks: "What rational man can suppose I would seek the death of an adversary, in a manner that must both embitter, and render eternal, the existing enmity? And what should I gain by his

death?"<sup>(57)</sup> Thinking it quite as essential to clear himself from the charge of heresy, as from that of employing assassins, he desired to be examined by competent judges upon all points of the Christian faith. The Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Pavia, the Abbots of Montecassino, Cava, and Casanova, and the Predicant Friars, Rolando and Nicola, assembled for this purpose. They questioned the Emperor closely, wrote down his answers, signed the document, which they esteemed proof positive of the calumniated monarch's orthodoxy, and carried it to Lyons. But Innocent sternly rebuked these volunteer Inquisitors, for presumptuously intruding themselves into an office, that he had not assigned them, and for holding intercourse with an excommunicated individual, whom, in disobedience to the Holy See, they dared to call the Emperor; and refused to receive their report. They did not abandon the cause, but strove to appease the Pope; and, at length, their humble apologies and earnest intercession so far prevailed, that he appointed three Cardinals to hear what they had to say. These Princes of the Church avowed themselves fully satisfied by the report, as to Frederic's religion; and they laid before the Pope his offers, made through his examiners, to attend his Holiness wherever he should appoint, in order, in his presence, to clear himself from all suspicion of heresy, Mohammedanism, and atheism, simultaneously, and therefore somewhat contradictorily, imputed to him; and further, when in consequence, relieved from excommunication, to join the Crusade which the King of France was then organizing; nay more, if required, to divide his European dominions between his two sons, Conrad and the younger Henry—thus fulfilling his early, unwilling promise—and devote himself thenceforward exclusively to the defence of the Holy Land.<sup>(58)</sup> But not even this report, speaking the conviction of his own Cardinals, and these offers, could satisfy Innocent. More obstinate, because less honest in his prejudice than Gregory IX, he, despite all the representations of the deputed Cardinals, on the 23rd of May, 1246, declared, that Frederic had, upon notorious facts, been pronounced a heretic; that he had not even yet renounced his friendly relations with Infidels; that his vindication, attested by persons subject

to his terror-spreading tyranny, who had presumed to examine him without a papal commission, and who styled him Emperor, bore the strongest marks of deception; for which reasons the excommunication remained in force. He concluded with the following strangely ungracious concession: "Although, for these reasons, Frederic deserves no hearing, yet will we not refuse to allow him, at some day, to appear, unarmed and nearly unattended, before us, when we ourself will listen to him upon this matter, if lawful, and as lawful."<sup>(59)</sup> It were difficult not to suspect that Innocent, actuated by personal hatred of the friend whom he had abandoned—no uncommon sentiment—was unwilling either to find Frederic a faithful son of the Church, or to see him abjure errors hitherto entertained.

The Emperor seems to have adopted this opinion, as he thenceforward desisted from his previously repeated efforts to effect a reconciliation. He saw that the fortune of arms must again decide between himself and the Pope, and he took measures for securing a favourable decision. To divers Italian cities, Rome being one, he addressed epistolary exhortations to loyalty, with promises of remission and diminution of tolls, &c.; and he raised forces to give weight to his letters. One body of troops he sent to co-operate with the numerous Ghibeline *Fuorusciti* (a word so characterizing the language and habits of mediæval Italy's ever-factious, republican cities, that it really must be borrowed) from Viterbo, in recovering that town. The siege was formed, and hunger soon produced a desire to capitulate. But if the Cardinal-Bishop was absent, the Consuls were determined Guelphs, and the terms offered, including a demand that the Emperor's epistle should be read to the whole population, were rejected. Hunger, however, proved stronger than consular authority; individual citizens found means to visit the besiegers' camp, where they were fed by, and conversed with, their acquaintance. Food, representations of the injustice under which the Emperor was suffering, and arguments upon the impossibility of Viterbo's singly resisting the imperial armies, gradually overpowered party spirit, and the gate to which, a day or two afterwards, the besiegers advanced, was thrown open amidst shouts of "Peace! peace!" The

Emperor's offered pardon was joyfully accepted, and, in proof of loyalty, Cardinal Capoccio's episcopal palace was laid low.

Frederic next ordered his son, Frederic of Antioch, Imperial Vicar, it will be remembered, in Tuscany, to possess himself of Florence, reinforcing him for that purpose. The young Vicar (now about seventeen,) guided, it may be presumed, by counsellors somewhat older than himself, hastened to obey; defeated his opponents, and, upon the 26th of December, triumphantly entered Florence. He expelled the heads of the Guelph faction, and razed their fortresses within the walls, thirty-six in number.<sup>(60)</sup> Tuscany was now unanimously loyal. But such successes were not of magnitude materially to influence the issue of the contest; in Lombardy the fortune of war, as usual, fluctuated, and with it, equally as usual, the fidelity of some of the great vassals. In the course of one season, two Marquesses Malaspina, brothers, deserted the Emperor's cause for the Pope's, and again the Pope's, for the Emperor's.

Whilst, in Italy, Frederic was thus resolutely struggling to defend his sovereignty, in Germany, the new Legate, the Bishop of Ferrara—whom even Guelph writers describe as a man addicted to violent measures, because almost always under the joint influence of a gloomy temper and the morbid irritation consequent upon intemperate habits—was seeking an anti-king. He, and the prelates who acted with him, first applied to the Duke of Bavaria, both as the most powerful of the princes of the Empire, and as having shown himself, in his recent seduction by Albert Beham, accessible to such lures. Those lately ardent loyalists, the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishops of Ratisbon and Freising, now laboured to impress upon the Duke, the duty of following their example, in recognising the validity of the sentence of the Pope in Council. But Otho answered: "When I adopted the papal party, you called the Holy Father Antichrist, demonstrating to me that he was the source of all evil, all crime. I changed sides at your persuasion, and now you depict the Emperor as the worst of criminals, the harbinger of Antichrist. With you, what was right yesterday is wrong to-day; but I cannot be thus blown



hither and thither, at the dictates of your selfish expectations.”<sup>(61)</sup>

Unexpected as was this repulse, in a quarter where the Legate and his associated prelates looked for joyful acceptance, they were not thereby discouraged. But this was not the only disappointment they were destined to experience. They proffered the crowns of Germany and the Empire, successively, to the King of Bohemia, to the Dukes of Saxony, Austria, Brunswick, and Brabant, and to the Margraves of Brandenburg and Misnia. All these Princes had been both incensed and alarmed, by the absolute authority to which the Pope pretended, and by the preponderance which the clergy had acquired, into at least a temporary oblivion of their own ambitious aspirations. They severally refused, either to accept the proffered crowns, or to admit the validity of the sentence, deposing the Sovereign whom ecclesiastics and laity had unanimously elected. Still Innocent’s canvassers for a candidate emperor did not despair: but, somewhat discouraged, they descended a step lower, and now tendered the often rejected crowns to the Landgrave of Thuringia.

The young Landgrave Hermann, son to Lewis the Holy and St. Elizabeth, in 1241, when fast approaching the age at which he would expect to assume the government, had died, whether poisoned by his Regent uncle, as was generally believed in Thuringia, or not. This uncle had ever since uncontestedly possessed both title and power. Henry Raspe was an able ruler, and, as such, when Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, young Conrad’s first Guardian or Counsellor, died, was one of those selected by Frederic to supply his place:—an argument surely—though standing alone against much concurrent testimony—that there is some exaggeration in the accounts of his ill usage of the widowed Landgravine, whom Frederic so highly admired. Again they met with a refusal; but one that, being prompted solely by personal and prudential considerations, instead of by grateful loyalty or enlarged views of policy, did not seem invincible. Henry Raspe declined, because neither strong enough nor rich enough to contend with the Emperor. He was answered, by offers of ample pecuniary supplies from the Pope, and by assurances of the active

support of the whole body of German ecclesiastics, high and low,—of the whole Church, if necessary; and, cloaking his gratified ambition under a show of humble devotion, he rejoined: “I obey; and would though I had not another year of life before me.” The words were afterwards deemed unconsciously prophetic.

Innocent now addressed himself to securing the election of his hardly obtained candidate, for the proudest crown in Christendom. He wrote to all the German princes severally, exhorting and commanding them to acknowledge as just and lawful the sentence he had pronounced upon Frederic; and to prove themselves faithful sons of the Church, by forthwith unanimously electing Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, King. He sent the Legate all the money extorted from the different states of Europe, therewith, as should seem most expedient, either to purchase votes or to hire troops for Henry Raspe; he despatched a host of Friars to effect this latter object more cheaply, by preaching a crusade against Frederic and Conrad; he forbade the Crusade for the Holy Land to be preached, until Frederic’s rebellion against the Holy See should be crushed; and upon the strength of this postponement, he appropriated to Henry Raspe’s service, the funds that had been intrusted to him, for the defence of the Holy Land, and the maintenance of indigent pilgrims, willing to devote themselves to the same sacred duty, but without means of support.

Innocent’s words and bribes were naturally ineffective with princes, who, feeling themselves entitled to succeed in case of a vacancy, had declined accepting the crown which they deemed lawfully the sovereign’s, to whom they themselves had given it. No temporal prince attended the Electoral Diet, convoked by the Archbishop of Mainz, to meet, not at Mainz or Frankfort, probably through fear of the citizens’ loyalty, but at a somewhat insignificant place called Hochheim. There the Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, Cologne (who, having been one of the captured Fathers of the Council, had upon his release sworn undeviating fidelity to Frederic) and Bremen, and the Bishops of Metz, Spire, and Strasburg,<sup>(62)</sup> assembling upon the day after Ascension-day, A.D. 1246, elected Henry Raspe. In consequence of this exclusively ecclesiastic election, he

was generally designated as the *Pfaffenkönig* or Parsons'-King.

Henry Raspe's first steps were to conclude an alliance with the Lombard League, and to raise troops. In July, he repaired to Frankfort, there to hold a Diet of his partisans, whose numbers the Pope's various measures, open and secret, for alluring, overawing, and terrifying opponents, had by this time considerably augmented. Conrad, now just eighteen, had meanwhile been assembling his father's faithful friends and vassals, at whose head he appeared on the 5th of August, before Frankfort. Henry, well knowing that much from the success of intrigue amongst the supposed loyal ranks of his adversary, victory was assured to him, came forth to give battle. Some hard fighting there nevertheless was, and Conrad even flattered himself that the day was his, when two of the principal Swabian vassals of his family, the Earls of Wurtemberg and Gröningen, whom Innocent had bought with 6000 marks and the promise of the duchy of Swabia to divide between themselves, fled with the 2000 men they had brought into the field. This seems to have been a large proportion of the Imperial army, but still Conrad fought on desperately, with the really loyal remainder, till a disorderly attack upon his flanks utterly disheartened the small body of troops hitherto standing by him. They fled, irresistibly carrying him along with them, and leaving their tents and baggage to the enemy.

The consequences of this defeat were more disastrous than, from the apparently small numbers engaged, might have been anticipated. It shook the constancy of many who till then had been loyal. The Margrave of Baden, son of Frederic's zealous and well-recompensed friend, now declared for Henry Raspe, as did the previously steadfast-seeming Swabian prelates; and many inferior nobles accepted the imperial fiefs lavished by the Anti-king upon all deserters from the Emperor. Conrad, a gallant youth, was, however, undismayed. He found a powerful and now staunch supporter in the Duke of Bavaria, with whose daughter Elizabeth, he in the autumn of this year, completed his long since contracted marriage.<sup>(63)</sup> He found the customary vigorous and zealous

adherents of the imperial cause in the German cities, which, whatever old Guelph chroniclers, biassed by faction, or modern historians, dazzled by the names of free Republics, and of Italy, may aver to the contrary, certainly esteemed the Swabian Emperors protectors of their rights and privileges.<sup>(64)</sup> They treated the papal excommunication and interdict as invalid, almost everywhere compelling the clergy to celebrate all rites of religion as usual: and, in some places, where the churches were pertinaciously kept shut, the people built others, which they invited Ghibeline priests to serve. Frankfort declared for the Emperor, the moment the departure of the Anti-king and his army freed the citizens from constraint; the episcopal cities especially distinguished themselves by their loyalty; and, the Bishop of Ratisbon dying about this time, the people could hardly be prevailed upon to allow him decent obsequies. The peasantry, though often forced by their Lords to fight against the cause they favoured in their hearts, were in general as loyal as the citizens; and most especially were the Freemen so of the small Swiss Cantons and the Grisons.

Henry Raspe had quitted Frankfort to follow up his victory, and, marching southward, he laid seige to Reutlingen, in Swabia. The Emperor had fortified Reutlingen, besides granting it the ordinary rights and privileges of Free Imperial cities, and the inhabitants were grateful. Their answer to the Anti-king's summons ran: "To us, the oath of allegiance that we swore to our Emperor is sacred, in spite of papal dispensations, and we have vowed the Blessed Virgin a church, if she will deliver us out of the hands of an usurping Parsons'-King." Their courage corresponded to their loyalty; they repulsed every assault, and after a while Henry Raspe, abandoning all hopes of Reutlingen, raised the siege. He next attacked Ulm, where he encountered similar resistance; and here Conrad, at the head of a new and more uniformly faithful army, sought him. Another battle was fought, in which Henry Raspe was defeated and wounded. He retreated to Thuringia, and, on the way, a fall from his horse so inflamed his wound, as to cause his death upon the 17th of February, 1247.

The defeat and death of the Parsons'-King seem at once to have neutralized the effect of the Pope's bribes, and of his partisans' arts. Even the clergy, at least of the inferior class, began to murmur at the heavy demands upon their income, for no Church interest, but for the personal quarrel of its Head. The vacillating, amongst the lay princes were confirmed in their allegiance, and those, who felt that they had cause to fear the Emperor's resentment, sought to expiate their offences, upon the persons of their ecclesiastical seducers. The degree, to which this species of easy and not unpleasant expiation, was carried, may be inferred from a ludicrous anecdote, with which history has enlivened, and some may think, degraded, her pages.

The Legate, terrified at what he saw of the form taken by this burst of reviving loyalty, had sheltered himself in a Minorite cloister; then, recollecting that the Pope's Legate might naturally be sought amongst Friars devoted to the Papal See, he resolved, at all risks, to leave both cloister and town. The Father-Guardian, thankful to be rid of a guest, at that conjuncture, bringing danger to his hosts, conducted him secretly, at dusk, to the town gate; but, contrary to custom, it was shut, possibly, for the very purpose of preventing the Legate's escape; and dejectedly was the Bishop of Ferrara returning to the asylum he judged insecure, when, upon his way, he espied a large dog creeping through a hole in the outer wall. Terror had, for the moment, extinguished arrogance, and eagerly did the bestower of Empire drop on his hands and knees to crawl after his canine guide. But the representative of the Supreme Pontiff being, as has been intimated, addicted to the indulgence of his appetite, was more corpulent than the hound, and stuck in the aperture, unable either to advance or to retreat. The case was desperate, for whatever might be the intentions of the magistracy, detection in an attempt to escape, so laughably foiled, must provoke ill-usage, if nothing worse, from the rude and loyal populace. In an emergency so critical, the Father-Guardian mastered the respect due to the representative of the Head of the Church, and, applying his foot to the nearest part of the episcopo-legatine person, fairly pushed him out through the inconveniently narrow aperture.

Throughout the whole of this vigorous papal attempt to dethrone the Emperor, the only mention, that occurs of his former steady supporters, the Teutonic Knights, records their positive refusal to join Innocent against him. Of actively aiding him, they seem not to have thought; being, apparently, with the exception of the small detachment still in Palestine, almost, if not wholly, absorbed in conquering and converting their allotted vassals. Although their Grand-Masters individually often interfered in behalf of the Emperor, the Order no longer appears as acting in the general politics of Germany.

Innocent, whilst his anti-king was struggling against Conrad, in Germany, and Frederic was slowly gaining ground in Italy, had not been inactive. He had employed the time in levying an army, of which he now gave the command to Cardinal Ottaviano Ubaldini, with orders to cross the Savoy Alps, into Lombardy; obtain an interview with Conte Amedeo, on his passage, and recall him, a task presumed easy, to Guelph principles. But Frederic had found means further to secure the fidelity of his Savoyard great vassal and son-in-law. He had asked the hand of the youthful dowager, Beatrice Marchioness of Saluzzo, Amedeo's daughter by a former marriage, for his own half legitimate, or legitimated and favourite son, Manfred, then about fifteen years old, whom at his wedding, he created Marchese di Alessandria,<sup>(65)</sup> promising the young couple a considerable Italian principality. But Manfred is too important a personage in the later scenes of this whole grand drama, to be thus slightly introduced.

Upon the degree and manner of his legitimacy considerable obscurity rests; but that Manfred's position was very different from that of Frederic's illegitimate offspring, is evident from his being the only child, not the issue of one of his three royally born Empresses, provided for, or even mentioned, in his will. In the same obscurity, some writers have further involved the identity of Manfred's mother.<sup>(66)</sup> But what appears to be most like the truth, upon both points, is, that he was Frederic's son by Bianca di Lancia, daughter of Bonifazio Marchese di Lancia, and that she was united to her sovereign, in some form, analogous to what is now termed a morganatic marriage, per-

formed, either by the Archbishop of Palermo himself, or under his sanction. The real question appears to be, when did the ceremony take place? Manfred was clearly born prior to his father's third marriage with Isabella of England, and his mother was alive after Isabella's death; whence the probability seems to be, that his birth was illegitimate, but that the Emperor, when again a widower, for the sake of this, his darling child, wedded the mother, which, by the civil law, it will be remembered, legitimates previously-born children. But whenever, or however, wedded, the not-royally born Bianca never bore the title of Empress, and only Jamsilla places Manfred, in any respect, upon a legal equality with Conrad and Henry.

That Manfred,—thought so well named Frederic's hand or mind (*manus* or *mens Frederici*),<sup>(66\*)</sup> and described as resembling Frederic more than any of his sons, not excepting the admired Enzo—well deserved to have his condition thus raised, will be seen hereafter. Enough for the present, to mention that, at the early age of eleven, his extraordinary endowments began curiously to manifest themselves. Being present in one of the many actions fought by his brother Enzo, in their father's cause, he chanced to be taken prisoner by Marchese Azzo, who, looking upon him as a valuable hostage, committed him, for safe custody, to Conte Berardo, a member of the house of Este. But, in lieu of extorting any concession from the Emperor, in ransom for a darling child, he lost a partisan by the precaution. The captive boy's eloquence won his jailer, not only to release him, but to conduct him in person to his father, and thenceforward, attach himself loyally to the Emperor's service.

Amedeo, who gladly assented to the Emperor's proposals for their children, was now again appointed Imperial Vicar in Lombardy; and, by raising difficulty after difficulty touching the passage of the Pope's army through Savoy, he, temporarily at least, prevented its crossing the Alps. Frederic profited by the delay to enter Lombardy in arms; and the Lombards, discouraged by the failure of the expected auxiliaries, following upon the discomfiture of their German confederates, professed a desire to treat. Frederic avowed himself impatient to be freed from such

troublesome, because incessantly renewed, hostilities, and therefore as ready as the Lombards for negotiation. At the same time, he announced that, so soon as peace was restored in Italy, he should lead his army through Savoy to Lyons; there, pacifically, though in force, vindicate himself to the Pope's satisfaction from the absurd charges brought against him; and then proceed, with the same army, to quell the disorders still troubling Germany.

All these consequences of the proposed pacification of Lombardy were as distasteful to Innocent IV, as to a right-minded Supreme Pontiff they would have been gratifying; and he took measures for impeding Frederic's appearance at Lyons. He endeavoured to alarm Lewis, in regard to the intentions with which the Emperor was leading an army into the immediate vicinity of the French frontier; and simultaneously to frighten away the Emperor, by proclaiming that the French monarch had raised an army for the purpose of both guarding an exiled Pope, at Lyons, and escorting him back to Rome. Yet so little confidence did he really feel, in the pious King's thus vaunted devotion to his cause; so conscious was he that Lewis inly condemned his conduct towards the Emperor, more towards young Conrad (whose kingdom of Jerusalem he had now pronounced forfeited and transferred to Alicia's son, Henry King of Cyprus), and most, perhaps, his postponing the recovery of the Holy City itself, to, at best, a mere papal quarrel; that he was even then secretly deprecating the approach of the French troops to Lyons, unless upon his own prayer for protection.

The Pope's conduct in these respects, his treatment of the Emperor, and neglect of the Syro-Frank states, revolted all such Oriental ecclesiastics as were unbiassed by faction. The Catholicos of the Armenians addressed to Innocent an admonition to obey the precept of Him whose vicegerent he entitled himself, and forgive the Emperor, even if he had offended seventy times seven times. Of this admonition Innocent took no notice; but it might be as a show of counterpoise to his postponement of the interests of the Asiatic Christians to his own, that he, about this time, despatched Minorites to most of the



Saracen Princes, to attempt converting them to Christianity. He had too much worldly knowledge to expect such conversions; but this the Syro-Franks would hardly discover; and at any rate he would hope to obtain through these missionaries, information relative to the actual condition of those princes, and of Palestine, by which to regulate, perhaps to justify, his measures.

Meanwhile, the Pope's alarms were relieved by the difficulty of arranging the pacification of Lombardy. Both Guelphs and Ghibelines professed their desire for peace; and well they might, if the consequences of the incessant hostilities are truly described; when we are told that the labours of the husbandman, here neglected, there left to women, could nowhere be carried on without military protection; that bands of robbers desolated the country, carrying off captives, whom they tortured to extort exorbitant ransom; that in many places—so scanty was the remaining population—wolves boldly entered the cottages, and devoured infants in the cradle. Yet these sufferings could not induce reciprocal concessions, sufficient for the foundation of a stable peace. Hostilities continued; the Imperial troops still occupied great part of Lombardy; Enzo was besieging Brescia, and Frederic of Antioch, after baffling a Guelph attempt to surprise Florence, was ravaging the territories of Perugia. But the wheel of Fortune now turned in favour of Innocent and the Guelphs. This first appeared at Parma.

Innocent's kinsmen, whom the loyal citizens of Parma had expelled, plotted the surprise of the city during the festivities, with which the Commander of the Imperial force, there quartered, celebrated his daughter's marriage. They effected their entrance as proposed, and instantly attacked the Ghibelines. The Podestà and the Imperial General hastened to allay the tumult: when, in the very beginning of the affray, the former was slain and the latter dangerously wounded. The distraction and despondency of the troops, thus deprived of their leaders, and the hesitating of the bulk of the population, whether from the confusion of a surprise, the effects of the festivities, or sheer popular mutability, insured the success of the attempt. The Fieschi recovered their possessions,

gained the ascendancy, reinstalled the Bishop, and carried the election of a Guelph Podestà. Such a reverse could not be suffered to pass unavenged; and the Emperor, deferring all thoughts of peace, made the recovery of Parma his first object.

He at once led his own army against the offending city, and summoned his two illegitimate sons and other detached commanders, to join him with their divisions. So rapid had these movements been, that Parma was very inadequately victualled, and great hopes were entertained that famine would compel an early surrender. The League made vigorous exertions to retain the newly gained prize; but Enzo defeated a body of Lombards hastening to the relief of the city, and a speedy triumph appeared certain. These hopes were disappointed by Cardinal Montelunga, whose zeal, in Innocent's eyes, appears to have fully atoned for a libertinism,<sup>(67)</sup> far exceeding—in a Churchman!—that for which Frederic was so sternly condemned. This energetic partisan having managed to enter the town, by his passionate eloquence excited and maintained a determined spirit of resistance; whilst Cardinal Ubaldini hastened to supply his place in Lombardy, and prevent Guelph ardour from flagging at a crisis so momentous. He, a better politician than general, perhaps, when he despaired of forcing the passage of the Alps, had left his army to await fresh instructions from the Pope, or to disband; and, making his own way nearly unaccompanied, reached his proper scene of action. Arriving there, he re-enchanted the spirits of the League, depressed by the late defeat, collected another army sufficient to overpower the body of Imperialists stationed to oppose his progress at a bridge over the Po, and threw ample supplies into Parma. The prospect of surrender from famine was now evidently remote; but the Emperor marked his determination not to raise the siege, by building a town of wooden huts, in which to carry it on throughout the winter; and, to prove his confidence of success, he named this camp-town Vittoria. He seems at the same time to have dismissed his sons to their respective commands—another analogous indication.

Unfortunately these disappointments, joined to the im-

placability of the Pope, appear to have gradually exasperated the Emperor, provoking him to acts of a cruelty quite foreign to his character and habits. Something of this the regicide plot in Apulia, had produced, which again shows itself during the tedious siege of Parma; though whether even here he were the aggressor, or again only retaliated barbarity, as at Brescia, has been questioned. He ordered Parmesan prisoners to be executed, two every day, in sight of the walls, thus, by fear for the lives of their friends, to coerce the citizens into surrendering; and he is said to have increased the numbers for execution, sometimes, by ordering natives of Parma to be seized wherever found, even at the Modenese University,<sup>(68)</sup> sometimes by the addition of Mantuan, and other captive rebels, to the sons of the besieged city. Parma, either in the enthusiastic Guelphism inspired by the Cardinal's eloquence, or in reliance upon the Emperor's latent generosity, sent a deputation to implore him to spare the helpless prisoners, uselessly sacrificed, since not even to save their lives would the town surrender. The prayer was granted, and a stop put to the diurnal executions.

Thus passed the end of the year 1247. During the first few weeks of 1248 the Emperor was confined to his bed by a dangerous malady, and all active operations were suspended. When he began to recover he was medically advised to hasten his convalescence by refreshing himself with his favourite pastime, hawking; and, with this object, on the 18th of February, leaving Vittoria and the conduct of the blockade to his Grand-Judge, Taddeo da Suessa—talent in those days did not confine its action to one department—he repaired, well accompanied, to a spot some miles distant, adapted to the sport. Whereupon the army, seemingly with the permission of Taddeo, who relied upon the habitual inertness of the besieged—their resistance, however invincible, having hitherto been of a passive character—proceeded to celebrate the sovereign's recovery with mirth and festivity.

The Emperor's temporary absence and the imprudent revelry of the troops, were noticed by the watchman upon a tower of Parma, and no sooner were the facts known, than the fiery exhortations of the impetuous Cardinal Mon-

telonga stirred up the citizens to risk what they had not before dreamt of, to wit, a sally upon the besiegers. The sally was accordingly made, and the besieged had actually penetrated into Vittoria, before they were discovered: Taddeo holding them in such indiscreet contempt, that when told they were assaulting the camp, he laughed as he observed: "So the mice have crept out of their holes at last." He hurried forth, nevertheless, to remedy the evil consequences of negligence. But the mice, as he called them, were armed and in order of battle; his warriors unarmed, and immersed in the pleasures of the table, where not in the helplessness of ebriety. The assailants increased the confusion of surprise, by setting the wooden huts on fire. Taddeo collected, and as he best could, arrayed those who were in a state to defend themselves; but whilst issuing orders, encouraging his men, and fighting gallantly at their head, he fell severely wounded, and from that moment resistance became hopeless. The troops, without a leader, and bewildered by the double danger, were beaten, routed, slaughtered, before they well knew against what they had to defend themselves.

The first intimation Frederic received of the disaster was the sight of an immense column of smoke in the direction of his town-like camp. He instantly galloped back with his whole company and escort, at the utmost speed of their horses, but was too late to stem the torrent. The camp was both on fire and in the hands of the rebels, before he arrived. To rally the fugitives for immediately renewed action, he found impossible; and could only accompany the flight of the main body, gathering the scattered survivors together, rallying, ordering, exhorting, as they went along, so as to bring this wreck of an army, in some sort of decent form, to Cremona. There he halted, to reassemble and reorganize the dispersed bands. His loss amounted to 4,000 men killed or taken; but the heaviest part, one of the heaviest losses he had yet suffered, was that of Taddeo da Suessa, who, since the death of Hermann von Salza, had been his most confidential friend and counsellor; and deservedly so, notwithstanding the calamity now caused by the supercilious neglect of

due caution, for which he himself paid dear. Taddeo had not been killed by the blow that struck him to the ground; but he was wounded beyond all power of exertion, and in that state left by the flying troops, who probably thought him dead. He therefore fell irrecoverably into the hands of the Guelphs, was dragged a prisoner into Parma, inhumanly mangled, and, it is averred, actually cut to pieces at the instigation of the leaders, lest his honied eloquence,<sup>(69)</sup> should win his captors back to loyalty.

The booty in arms, cattle, and baggage of all descriptions, made by the men of Parma, was immense; the spoils that most elated them, being the Imperial crown and seal, found in the Emperor's tent. These prizes were, of course, carefully preserved amongst the city trophies. Of the ordinary plunder, each man was required to make over half his share to the public treasury; and, so enthusiastic was the zeal excited by the Cardinal, that this was done, it is said, fairly, and without murmur or dispute. During the siege, the citizens had consecrated a silver model of Parma to Our Lady, the Deliverer, whose protection and active aid they implored. And now, in gratitude for their deliverance, which they mainly attributed to her intervention, they placed in their Cathedral a picture of the Madonna, accompanied by St. John the Baptist and St. Hilarius, with an inscription, purporting, that the enemies of Parma fly, because the Blessed Virgin protects the city.

## CHAPTER XV.

### FREDERIC II.

*Affairs of Germany—of Austria—Innocent IV's Cabals—William Earl of Holland, Anti-King—Affairs of Italy—Captivity of Enzo—Fall of Pietro delle Vigne—Crusade of Lewis IX—Disasters—Death of Frederic II. [1248—1250.*

EVEN whilst hope still brightened the Emperor's prospects in Italy, and yet more after so heavy a disaster had overclouded them, Germany remained a prey to Innocent's unceasing cabals. Upon the failure of the Apulian plot, and the death of Henry Raspe, he had ordered the active Cardinal Capoccio thither, to supersede the unsuccessful Bishop of Ferrara, as both a blundering and a timid politician; and had invested this new Legate with full powers to plant and cultivate, to eradicate and extirpate, to scatter and annihilate, at his discretion. In the exercise of these powers Capoccio was not abstemious; and the employment of calumny, to alienate the affections of Germany from her sovereign, is one of the flagitious modes of hostility with which he is charged. For the dissemination of calumny, he had recourse to the then established papal means, viz., dispersing a swarm of friars, chiefly Franciscans, through the country; and, although it may be surmised that these emissaries exceeded their instructions, when they accused Frederic of such crimes, as, training young boys for assassins; defiling a church by offering the last outrage to a virgin, under the effigy of Our Lady, upon the very altar consecrated to inviolate purity, deified in her form; feeding young girls, the destined wives or mistresses of his enemies, upon poison, that their embraces might be death-fraught; and the like; still,

he, who throughout supported the defamers, cannot escape the responsibility even of these most extravagant falsehoods.

Meanwhile, these multifarious efforts to overthrow an heroic race, had exhausted the fruit of the Pope's pecuniary exactions; and to procure means of continuing the attack, he was again driven to irritate the clergy of various realms, by heavy demands upon their purses. He was driven, further, to do that which produced more permanent disaffection to the See of Rome; namely, to the commission of every simoniacal offence, with which he and Gregory IX had charged Frederic II, and represented as a main cause of their enmity to him; as selling benefices to improper persons, keeping others vacant—regardless of the souls of flocks thus left without a pastor—in order to appropriate their incomes, and similar practices. In fact, under Innocent IV—through his obstinate determination to crush the Swabian dynasty, and apparent hatred of the friend he had injured—many, if not most, of the abuses, imputed to the Roman See, reached their culminating point.<sup>(70)</sup> In Germany, one immediate consequence of these abuses was a great increase of heretics. These heretics naturally held the excommunication of the Emperor and his son invalid, and were staunch loyalists; a circumstance, of which the Cardinal and his Friars took advantage, proving Frederic an infidel, from his connexion with heretics, as well as with Saracens.

To enhance the distraction of Germany, occurred two disputed successions; one of which Innocent, if guiltless of producing it, turned to good account. The first arose upon the death of the anti-king. Though thrice married, Henry Raspe left no child; and, in his disappointment of heirs, the Thuringians saw the judgment of Heaven upon his conduct towards his deceased brother's family, his attempted usurpation of the principality and poisoning his nephew. His younger brother, Landgrave Conrad, a bachelor when he entered the Teutonic Order, died as Grand-Master. The claimants of the landgraviate, the Saxon palatinate, and the ample allodial family estates, were, therefore, females or sons of females, and of these there were four. The first was Sophia, eldest daughter of Landgrave Lewis, married to the Duke of

Brabant, a widower with children—her sisters were nuns ; the second, Hermann, Margrave of Misnia, surnamed the Illustrious, on account of the frequency and magnificence of his tournaments, claimed, as the eldest son of Jutta, eldest sister of the two deceased Landgraves, Lewis the Holy and Henry Raspe ; the third was Hermann, Graf von Henneberg, eldest son of the same Jutta by a second marriage ; and the fourth, Henry, Graf von Anhalt, eldest son of Irmengard, younger sister of Jutta and of the deceased Landgraves. Against all four, the imperial tribunals claimed the landgraviate and palatinate, as lapsed, being sword fiefs, to the crown ; considering the allodial domains as all that the pretenders were contending for. Indeterminate and vague as was then the law of succession in regard to collaterals, the third and fourth candidates appear to have been at once dismissed ; but the titles of the daughter, and of the eldest sister's eldest son, seemed both so indisputable, that to decide between them was next to impossible. In Thuringia, the preference for a male over a female ruler, and the consequent inclination to reject the asserted right of a daughter, as an irrational encroachment upon the prerogative of the stronger sex, were somewhat counterbalanced, in favour of Sophia,—whose son was an infant, incapable for years of taking his mother's place—by veneration for St. Elizabeth, and a desire to be governed by her offspring. To the decision of an Emperor, who not only claimed the principalities as lapsed fiefs, but, being deposed by the Pope, was disowned by half the German princes, neither party was willing to submit ; and Conrad had too much upon his hands to be willing, even by enforcing the imperial right, much more by deciding between the claimants, to provoke the enmity of Brabant or of Misnia, if not of both. Frederic proposed to give his young daughter by the late Empress Isabella, Princess Margaret, in marriage to Margrave Hermann's son Albert, with the landgraviate and palatinate as her portion ; leaving the allodial territories to Sophia, or to be divided. Some of the Thuringian great vassals proposed reserving the question, for the judgment of an universally acknowledged Emperor. But neither party was inclined to give way, and the civil war went on between the two candidates and their par-



tisans. Those of the Margrave were found chiefly in the eastern districts, adjacent to Misnia; those of the Duchess in the western, where lay the chief of the allodial property, and where St. Elizabeth had latterly lived and had died.

The other disputed succession occurred in Austria, where, in 1245, the Duke was left defending himself against the Kings of Hungary and Bohemia. Frederic the Combative made head against them for many months, long enough, as was seen, to afford him the opportunity of refusing the Imperial crown, and professing his immoveable fidelity to the unjustly excommunicated and deposed Emperor. But in the following year, when nearly triumphant over his enemies, his own rashness cost him his life. Positively refusing to wait for his daily expected reinforcements, he attacked the Hungarians with very inferior numbers, and his temerity succeeded; notwithstanding the disparity of force, he gained the victory. But, in the eagerness of pursuit outstripping the best mounted of his army or train, he was separated from his own troops, at the moment, when his horse, either wounded or chancing to stumble, fell, and before he could disengage himself from the animal, he received his death-blow,—from what hand is still matter of dispute. It was dealt, according to some writers, by a noble vassal of his own, whose kinswoman he had forcibly dishonoured; according to Hungarian historians, by one of the Hungarian leaders, a Frangipani, of a branch of this Roman family, settled amongst the Magyars; <sup>(71)</sup> an opinion adopted by Austrian authorities.

The right of female succession had, at the creation of the duchy of Austria, been limited, it may be recollected, to the daughters of the last Duke; and Frederic the Combative had none. Neither had he made use of the other privilege, then granted to the posterity of Henry Jasomir, and which, at Verona, the Emperor, in consideration of his heirless position, had confirmed to the Duke anew, the privilege of bequeathing his duchy. Thinking he had plenty of time before him, he deferred making his will, and Austria was thus, clearly, a lapsed fief. As such, the Emperor—although a few Austrian nobles solicited him to send them his eldest grandson, the son of the deceased

Duke's eldest sister, as his uncle's heir—appointed Graf von Eberstein its Governor, directing him to divide the allodial possessions of the Babenberg family, amongst the three co-heiresses, viz., the two sisters of the deceased Duke, Margaret, the widowed Queen of the Romans, and Constance, Margravine of Misnia, and their niece Gertrude, the widow of the Bohemian prince, who had been proposed to the Emperor as his fourth wife. But neither were the Estates of Austria satisfied to be governed by the Lieutenant of a distant Emperor, or given away at the imperial pleasure, nor could Innocent endure to see the power of the enemy, whom he had exasperated by persecution, thus strengthened; and both the Pontiff and the Estates of the duchy endeavoured to obviate the evil they dreaded. The Pope's measures appear somewhat inconsistent. Even whilst exciting the Kings of Hungary and Bohemia to invade, conquer, and divide the duchy, between their kingdoms, he pronounced the limitation of female succession by Frederic Barbarossa, when creating the duchy, illegal and invalid; and encouraged, strangely enough, not one, but two, of the female claimants, to stand forward. These were, Gertrude, who, but for the special limitation, would have been the natural heir, and Queen Margaret. The latter, upon her liberation, had retired to a convent at Treyes, her sons remaining, it should seem, though not positively said, with their imperial grandfather. She had not yet pronounced her vows as a nun, having, when upon the point of so doing, been strictly forbidden by the Pope, thus to bind herself to seclusion.

Why Innocent brought her forward—whose succession would transmit the duchy to one of Hohenstaufen race, besides weakening, by division, the Austrian party that wished for a Babenberg heir, even if a female,—is not explained; but it may be surmised, that he either hoped thus to create disunion in the imperial family, or thought, that the more complicated the question, the more numerous the claimants, the more certainly must the ultimate decision rest with him. But, by whatever motive originally actuated, he speedily cast Margaret aside, concentrating his patronage upon Gertrude. For her, he now sought a husband, able to enforce her pretensions; fixed upon Her-

mann, Margrave of Baden, nephew of the Duchess of Bavaria; and, upon their marriage, proclaimed them lawful Duke and Duchess of Austria. Yet, even then, with continuous seeming inconsistency, unless distrusting the power of his protégés to resist the Emperor, he is said to have exhorted the Kings of Hungary and Bohemia not to evacuate the districts, of which they were in possession.

Or this step may, only a little later, have been taken as a resource against greater evils, when Innocent found that Hermann and Gertrude were unacceptable to the majority of the Estates of the duchy. They wanted a Duke of the Babenberg race, but not a woman, nor a stranger, as the husband of their Duchess, to rule them; and with the full concurrence of one very considerable party, Graf Eberstein hastened to the Emperor, to urge his acknowledging his eldest grandson Frederic, Henry and Margaret's eldest son, as Duke, and allowing him to take the prince, so invested, back with him.<sup>(72)</sup> Innocent thereupon again extended his patronage to Margaret, as second rival to her own son; and now looked around for a husband, calculated to give weight to her pretensions. In this he had not yet succeeded, when another Austrian party, dissatisfied with all these proposals, determined to offer their duchy to Albert, the son of Margaret's younger sister, Constance, Margravine of Misnia. The deputation, sent to invite this prince, took its way through Bohemia,—Wenceslas, not having followed the Pope's advice, it must be inferred, if really given, but, at least, suspended hostilities, upon the death of his restless neighbour. He now drew the deputation to his Court, entertained the members splendidly, and, ere long, persuaded them that, Albert of Misnia being far too young for their purpose, a much better plan would be, to declare Margaret her brother's heiress, marrying her to his second son, now, by the death of the eldest, his heir, Przemisl (Germanicè, Ottocar), then in the very prime of manhood; an arrangement that would insure to Bohemia and Austria, thus united, the command of Germany. The deputies were convinced, and returned to communicate their conviction to their constituents. In this they succeeded; Margaret, who had then seen seven-and-forty winters, was invited from her convent, to accept

the addresses of a young libertine, Ottocar, and claim the duchy of Austria.

The Pope seems to have fully sanctioned these proceedings. The Emperor, admitting none of the pretensions thus advanced, maintained the duchy to be, according to its original constitution, a lapsed fief, and committed the assertion of the Empire's disputed right to the Duke of Bavaria, whom the Pope had previously encouraged to reclaim the provinces, ceded by Henry the Lion to the margraviate, when it was made a duchy. But Otho, if he acted vigorously enough against the partisans of Margaret, showed little eagerness to prevent the aggrandisement of his wife's nephew, Hermann of Baden; and the civil war became more and more complicated. Of Styria, which Frederic now again severed from Austria, Meinhard, Graf von Görz, held possession, as Imperial Governor, without much disturbance.

Innocent's active hostility to the Emperor was neither glutted by, nor absorbed in, these endeavours to dispossess him of a lawfully lapsed, mighty fief. From the day of Henry Raspe's death he had been diligently seeking another anti-king; and, as before, distrust either of his right or of his power to bestow Germany and the Empire, had induced disinclination to accept the splendid gift. Successively to the Earls of Guelders and of Cornwall, to the King of Norway, and, again, to the Duke of Brabant, did he offer this magnificent sovereignty. But the example of Henry Raspe was not inspiring; and all declined the donation of crowns, which, when accepted, had to be wrested from their able and powerful wearer, against the will of, certainly, the majority of the subjects, nominally thus transferred.

In this dearth of anti-kings, an idea was entertained of seducing Conrad to revolt, like his elder brother Henry. To this end, he was offered not only relief from the sentence of excommunication under which he lay, but the sanction and support of the Pope, as, at least, independent King of Germany. The idea would be the more readily adopted by Innocent, from his knowledge of Lewis IX's disgust, at the unoffending boy's being included in the sentence pronounced against the father: and overtures

to this effect were made to the King of the Romans, by some German leaders of the Papal faction. But Conrad, more dutiful or wiser than Henry, answered: "Of a truth, I shall not play my father and myself false, to please a pack of traitors." And again an anti-king had to be sought.

The Duke of Brabant, decidedly as he himself preferred his duchy to so precarious an empire, suggested that his nephew, William, Earl of Holland, being only nineteen years of age, ambitious, and boyishly fond of war, might prefer the prouder title, to his own. The Archbishop of Cologne eagerly caught at the idea; he wanted a king, under whom the real authority would be his; and as a lad of nineteen promised to be precisely such a king, the offer was made. The young Earl's passion for war must have been inordinate, indeed, if unsatisfied with what he already had upon his hands; inasmuch as he was then engaged in hostilities, with the far more powerful Countess of Flanders and Hainault. In these counties, Margaret had succeeded to her sister, Joanna, who, in 1244, died without children by either of her husbands, the *Infante* of Portugal, or Earl Thomas of Savoy. William had not done homage to her for Zeeland, which the Earls of Holland held of those of Flanders, thinking probably, to emancipate himself from vassalage under a female mesne suzerain; and the haughty Margaret was determined to deprive him of Zeeland, if he persisted in his refusal. But, whatever might be the case with his martial impulses, Earl William's ambition was not damped by his involvements; and he eagerly accepted the offered crown.

To Innocent, under existing circumstances, any candidate for empire was welcome; and he may even have preferred one, who must needs be completely dependent upon his support. Zealously he wooed the princes, upon whom the election depended; and it was to gain the vote of King Wenceslas, that he had invited him to conquer and annex Austria to Bohemia—the canvass for an anti-king having preceded his protection of Gertrude as heiress of that duchy. Cardinal Capoccio addressed himself to the ecclesiastical princes of Germany, and prevailed upon several to be content with the papal candidate—the only one obtainable

—for their crown. When thus assured of success, an Electoral Diet was convoked by the Archbishop of Mainz, and again was a place of no account appointed for its meeting: Woringen, near Cologne, being upon this occasion selected. There he, with the Archbishops of Treves and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, and a few prelates and princes who did not habitually claim a voice in the election of a sovereign, the Duke of Brabant being one, and some immediate vassals of inferior power and dignity, proceeded, upon the 3rd of October, 1247, to elect William Earl of Holland, King of Germany and of the Romans. The official document states the election to have been by the general consent of the princes present. The circumstance is not surprising, as only princes determined to vote for the papal candidate attended: but is worth recording, as tending to show the rights of suffrage not yet definitively vested in the seven electors of the golden bull, or even limited to that number. The new King was then knighted with the accustomed ceremonies, accompanied by great banquetting and other festivities; amidst which, the intention of proceeding directly to Achen, there to solemnize his coronation, was announced.

The annunciation was somewhat premature, for Achen, faithful as a true German city to the Emperor, closed her gates against the Anti-king and his partisans. The coronation was unavoidably postponed, until the proper theatre should be in the hands of the Guelph faction. Achen was regularly besieged and gallantly defended. In fact, the preponderance of the Imperialist over the Papal party, throughout Germany, was at this time very decided; invigorated, probably, by anger at the election of a prince so inconsiderable in dominions, age and reputation, as William of Holland. Franconia, Swabia, Styria, and, in part, Austria, were chiefly under Imperial officers; the Free Imperial Cities were loyal; and the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the Margraves of Brandenburg and Misnia, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the Bishops of Passau and Freising, loudly protested against the recent pretended election, as in every way illegal, and therefore null. Even Prince Ottocar of Bohemia publicly reprobated his father's share in the transaction; and, partly, perhaps, to punish

his opposition, Innocent now proposed a marriage between Margaret, Queen Dowager of the Romans, and Earl Florence, a younger brother of the Anti-king. William shrank from the risk of offending the King of Bohemia, and the proposal dropped. The Pope, resuming his former practices, gradually gained a few partisans; but still William was the weakest, and as such was driven to all means of bribing adherents. He lavished grants of every description, of imperial fiefs, of tolls, dues, and what not; he made unprecedented, if not actually unlawful, transfers of suzerainty over immediate vassals, as cloisters, knights, and even one Free Imperial City,—Nimeguen; and, in direct opposition to this last act, he raised Flemish towns to the rank of Free Imperial Cities. But Countess Margaret,—though herself, like her father and sister, extremely liberal of charters to her towns—denied the right of even the most legally elected and universally acknowledged Emperor, thus to emancipate her subjects from her authority; and speedily compelled the Anti-king, not only to cancel his charters to Flemings and Hainaulters, but to purchase peace, and her recognition of his title, by concessions unbecoming a monarch who called himself her sovereign.

The Pope sought, at least, to lessen the need of such waste of imperial possessions and power, by supplying his Anti-king with money, wrung from the clergy; but even in this he was not uniformly successful. The sums that he ordered to be remitted from Italy, were frequently intercepted by Conte Amedeo; and, to Innocent's no small mortification, diverted to the service of the Emperor, for whose overthrow they had been designed. Only what was extorted from the German clergy certainly reached the intended receiver. Cheaper succours he provided by commanding, rather than permitting, all those, who had taken the Cross for the recovery of the Holy Land, to perform their vow at the siege of Achen. A singular commentary upon the Council's prohibition of war in Europe, for a certain period, lest it should interfere with the enterprise contemplated for this object. But to what anomalies will not passion give birth!

That Lewis IX paid no attention to this papal injunction hardly need be said. But, being welcome to the idle, as to

the lukewarm, amongst vowed Crusaders — it brought William reinforcements, that seemed to render further resistance on the part of the besieged unavailing. Yet they still replied to the Anti-king's summons, that they would neither violate nor palter with their oath of allegiance. And still they defended their walls: nor, till the building—or the breaking down—of a dam turned a torrent of water into the town, not only filling the cellars, but so completely inundating the lower parts, as actually to drive the inhabitants to the upper stories of their houses, and by destroying the contents of many provision-magazines, to produce famine, could the besiegers, with all their accumulation of forces succeed. Upon the 16th of October, 1248, Achen, after a year's siege, surrendered, and William, in the joy of being at length enabled to solemnize his coronation in the only place where the ceremony was deemed valid, offered the citizens a free pardon. They were too high-mindedly unflinching in their allegiance to accept it. They had yielded only to the irresistible coercion of hunger; and the majority, with their families, in appearance more like shadows than living human creatures, now quitted Achen, carrying their moveable property with them, again to tender their services to their lawful sovereigns, Frederic and Conrad.

In Charlemagne's Cathedral, the Archbishop of Mainz, upon the 1st of November, anointed William of Holland, and the Archbishop of Treves placed the crown upon his head. Henry Raspe had never achieved his coronation; and the Pope, therefore, hoped that even those, who had refused to acknowledge an uncrowned king, might be expected to submit to a successor, duly crowned at Achen. He was disappointed; the Imperialists admitted no power in a coronation-ceremony, however regular—and this was imperfectly so, the proper *regalia* being in the possession of Frederic or Conrad — to heal the defects of an illegal, invalid election; much less to cancel oaths of allegiance to living sovereigns. They still called William, as they had called Henry, both Anti-king and Parsons' King.

When Achen surrendered, these perverted Crusaders deemed their vow fulfilled, and, not being Papal partisans, dispersed; by their desertion leaving William too weak, to



attempt, at this time, anything further towards establishing his authority. It is likewise said, that the Archbishop of Cologne was beginning to tire of his proposed puppet, whose power proved inadequate to repay the trouble of such secondhand wielding; and his leaving his own especial office, of placing the crown upon the new king's head, to another, was noticed. On the other hand, Conrad was unable to crush his antagonist, his party being indisposed to vigorous exertions in his cause; resting nearly content with petty hostilities against Guelph neighbours, and compelling the clergy to baptize, marry, bury, and say mass, as though neither excommunication nor interdict existed. Germany remained therefore harassed by civil war, general but indecisive.

One growth from these disorders, or rather from their parent, the suspension of the sovereign-authority, had already been the increase of robber-knights, and—if the epithet be applicable to all extorters of money from strangers—of robber-nobles. A second product, the offspring of the first, was, that the towns had been driven to measures of defence, new in Germany. The Graf von Katzenellenbogen having unlawfully imposed, at Castle Rheinfels, an unwonted and heavy toll upon the Rhine, Mainz, Frankfort, and Worms sent an army, or rather three allied bands, against him. The allies were repulsed. Then a patrician burgher of Mainz, Arnold von Thurn, proposed a confederation of the cities upon the Rhine, regularly organized after the manner of the Lombard League, but more completely so, and with a purely lawful object, viz., conjointly to equip an army under one general, and a fleet under one admiral, for the protection of their trade from plunder. In the preceding year, 1247, his plan had been adopted, and was now in full and successful activity, having compelled the Earl to give up his toll. This was a state of affairs that could not fail of being propitious to Conrad.

Another occurrence that about this time promised materially to increase his preponderance, was the death of Siegfried, Archbishop of Mainz, the most warlike of Innocent's ecclesiastical partisans in Germany. The Chapter selected the Archbishop of Cologne as his successor, and—from the objections made by the Pope to their choice—

it should seem, not as translated to the higher metropolitan See, but to hold Mainz together with Cologne. The Holy Father, objecting upon just principle to pluralities, positively forbade such an accumulation of powerful archbishoprics, from which he is said to have feared the rise of a patriarchate beyond the Alps, capable of resisting, if not of throwing off, the papal authority. Annulling the election, he commanded the Mainz Chapter to proceed to a new one. Their choice then fell upon their own Provost, another Graf Christian, an ecclesiastic of a meeker and more religious nature than either his namesake or his more immediate predecessor, and who, shrinking from a post so responsible in times so critical, sincerely and repeatedly declined the dignity; at last accepting it, really upon compulsion.

In Italy, a little more activity prevailed, but with results scarcely more decisive. Enzo gained victories, and Ezze-lino took cities; but so did Cardinal Ubaldini, whose troops, by circuitous routes, at length joined him. The Pope obtained, from the Bolognese, an oath to confiscate all Ghibeline property upon their territories, and ordered a new swarm of friars into Apulia and Sicily, there to excite new rebellions. These emissaries were often severely punished by the tribunals, ecclesiastical as well as lay, and yet oftener very roughly handled by the loyal populace. Their endeavours appear, however, to have alarmed Frederic; for he made over the conduct of his troops in the northern and central provinces, to his two sons, Enzo and Frederic, named Amedeo of Savoy Imperial Vicar in Lombardy, and hastened to his southern kingdom. There he speedily baffled and checked the manœuvres of the friars, whose success had been trifling; and thence he renewed his intercourse with Lewis IX, touching that monarch's Crusade, offering him all assistance in his power, and regretting the impossibility, caused by the Pope's enmity, of his joining him.

This Crusade was now really beginning; the French King having, at length, surmounted the opposition of his mother and his council. Such an attendance of nobles, as seemed requisite, he had, since his own assumption of the Cross, secured by a ludicrous stratagem, and noticeable, be-

cause characterizing an age, of whose religiously chivalrous ideal Lewis might be termed the impersonation. It was customary for the King to give, as a sort of Christmas-box, new dresses to all who kept, with him, that solemn winter festival. Having drawn as many of the nobility to court as possible, he secretly ordered a Crusader's Cross to be affixed upon the mantles, completing these dresses; and then caused these Christmas-boxes to be delivered before dawn, on Christmas-day, with a message, requiring each receiver's instant attendance upon him, to mass. Unsuspecting of the snare, the receivers hurried on the new dresses in the dark, and, when they had light enough to distinguish their garments, found themselves, unconsciously as unintentionally, pledged Crusaders.<sup>(78)</sup> This occurred at the close of 1245, about a year after his own vow and it was not until 1248, that he was ready to set forward, with an army really wearing the aspect of pilgrim-warriors. Following the King's example, every appearance of splendour was discarded; no furs or gold ornaments were worn, not even the highly-prized, golden spurs of knighthood; and coarse grey cloth superseded scarlet velvets and satins, in the mantles and doublets.

This army proceeded by different routes. The King, with the main body, embarked at Aiguesmortes, his only port upon the Mediterranean, for Cyprus; which he had appointed as the *rendezvous*, as well with his other divisions as with the Syro-Frank magnates, whom, prior to finally arranging his proceedings, he wished to consult respecting the direction his armament should take. His brother, the Comte de Poitiers, being appointed to march through Italy, was invited by the Emperor to embark at an Apulian port, where he would furnish him shipping. Nor was this his only service to the Crusade. Understanding that the King's stay in Cyprus had, unexpectedly, been so prolonged, as to cause a distressing scarcity in the island, Frederic not only sent Lewis a large supply of provisions, but gave the Venetians,—who, despite the commercial treaty, were again at war with him—safe-conducts, that the recurrence of such an inconvenience might be prevented, by their feeding the Crusaders in the way of trade.<sup>(74)</sup> Both Lewis, upon his holy expedition, and the Re-

gent, Queen Blanche, at home, wrote earnest expostulations to the Pope, against his persecution of so truly Christian a prince as the Emperor, the benefactor of Christendom.<sup>(75)</sup> In vain! Innocent had already shown, by granting dispensations from their crusading vow to as many French Crusaders, as acknowledged the wish to evade what all then esteemed an essentially religious duty, how little he cared for the defence or recovery of the Holy Land, in comparison with the overthrow of those steady opponents of papal aggression, the Swabian Emperors. He paid no attention to these grateful remonstrances of the truly pious royal Crusader, and his universally revered mother.

The Pope's schemes for destroying the race were beginning to prosper. Calamity, that had first visited Frederic II at Parma, now pressed, well-nigh uninterruptedly upon the indefatigable, the long invincible monarch. Modena, being at war with Bologna, and besieged by the forces of her far stronger antagonist, entreated imperial succours, which, readily granted, Enzo hastened to afford. The besieged, conscious of their relative inferiority, had attempted nothing beyond the defence of their walls, until the Bolognese, from one of their mangonels, hurled a dead ass, bound with silver fetters, into a favourite fountain, in the very heart of the town. The insult overpowered all prudence; and the Modenese, in a bold sally, destroyed the offending engine. But they were too much elated by this success to rest content with it, especially when Enzo, bringing a body of Germans to their aid, raised them to a numerical equality with the foe. Eager, moreover, to profit by the presence of the Emperor's warrior son, they issued forth to try the fortune of arms in the open field. The hostile armies met upon the small river Scultenna, which Enzo had proposed to cross at a ford, sufficiently distant from both parties, to be unwatched. His plan being traitorously revealed to the Bolognese Podestà, the intended surprise failed, and the action that ensued was, in fact, a drawn game. Shortly afterwards a pitched battle was fought, of which, during nearly the whole day, the issue was doubtful. But, towards evening, Enzo himself being engaged hand to hand with Antonio Lambertazzi, a Bolognese, his

unchivalrous adversary slew his horse, and he, falling with the animal, vanished for an instant from the eyes of the army. Such an accident seems, at this epoch, to have been always fraught with irretrievable ruin. Enzo was, indeed, quickly relieved from the dying steed, and remounted by his Germans; but the momentary disappearance of him, upon whom alone their hopes rested, had so disheartened the Modenese, that they were already rather flying, than retreating. The infection of fear, and the desertion of half the army, irremediably disordered the remainder. Enzo and his chief officers, Marino di Eboli and Buoso da Doaria, strove in vain to check the panic; the rout was not to be stemmed, and—far more fatal to the Imperialists!—they themselves were surrounded and taken.

Unbounded was the exultation of the victors, who led their prisoners in triumphant procession to Bologna. First went the eagles and other minor trophies; then the Imperial Carroccio, which—having accompanied Enzo to the field—borne upon its elephant, towered above all others; the captured troops followed, Enzo and his two friends, in full panoply and bearing all marks of dignity, closed the train. The Grand-Council of the city assembled to receive the victors, and—startling to civilized ears!—to decide upon the fate of prisoners of war. Those who deliberate upon that which admits not of hesitation, are proverbially lost to honour and honesty: accordingly the fate determined upon for the gallant, as handsome, King of Sardinia, who had scarcely yet seen four-and-twenty summers, and whose sole offence was helping the friends, against the enemies, of his father, was lifelong captivity.

Whether any amount of instantly offered ransom and flattery, could have softened this determination, dictated, partly by the inveteracy, which Innocent IV had instilled into many of his partisans, and partly by the politic desire to weaken the Emperor, by depriving him of his best captain, may be doubted: but certainly the measures, to which the first burst of paternal grief and anger impelled Frederick, were injudicious. He authoritatively demanded his son's release, threatening terrible vengeance if it were denied or delayed; and the triumphant Bolognese, convinced that, with such a hostage in their hands, he dared

not attack them, answered with insulting taunts. The imperial father, then perceiving that violence was worse than useless, tendered ample ransom, to which Enzo proposed to add a silver ring, of magnitude to encircle Bologna, and the proffers were scornfully rejected. Still Frederic despaired not. He had a son of the Marquess of Montferrat, now a confirmed Guelph, in his hands, and trusted, through the interest which the Marquess must needs have with his new friends, to effect the exchange of their captive children. The Marquess was naturally willing; Enzo was, however, thought of more importance than the adhesion of Montferrat; and this hope was blighted.

But, if Enzo languished in seemingly perdurable captivity, that captivity was neither lonely nor cheerless. The brilliant and fascinating qualities, that he inherited from his father in a greater degree than any of his brothers, except Manfred, won the hearts of the Bolognese youth of both sexes. The sons of the noblest courted the prisoner's society, and the fairest of their daughters, Lucia Viadagola, yielded him her heart. Whether their loves were sanctioned by religious rites, is a disputed question, there being no doubt that Enzo might hold himself free to contract a new marriage; his Queen, Adelasia, having, apparently, found little satisfaction in her union with a husband, whom his father's affairs kept habitually absent from her, is accused of early seeking consolation in the society of one Michele Zanchi, her Seneschal, a brutal Sardinian, placed by Dante amongst the worst traitors.<sup>(76)</sup> When Innocent excommunicated her Imperial father-in-law, she, although mother of a daughter by Enzo, applied to the Pope for a divorce, upon the ground of having been ill-used and even imprisoned by her husband.<sup>(77)</sup> What foundation there might be for her complaints is unknown, but her application was successful, and she had already given her hand to Zanchi, as her third husband. It is even said that, in consequence of Adelasia's divorce, a marriage with a daughter of the house of Romano had been proposed for Enzo, the treaty pending when interrupted by his capture.<sup>(78)</sup> It is therefore to be hoped, that he made his fair consoler his wife; for,

married or not, from their loves the noble Bolognese family of Bentivoglio is believed to spring. In a prison thus replete with solace, Enzo seems for a while to have patiently abided, looking forward to political casualties, that, if they did not actually win Bologna to their side, yet might so restore her enmity, as to induce acceptance of the ample ransom, repeatedly offered by his father, and subsequently by his brothers, Conrad and Manfred.

Enzo's capture had been speedily followed by the fall of Modena; despairing of relief, she was now compelled to submit to the domination of Bologna, and desert the Imperial, for the Papal party. But this consequence at least of the loss of his son, was, to the Emperor, fully compensated; Ravenna and Faenza, which had again become Guelph, forsaking the Pope about this time, once more to profess themselves Ghibeline; an example followed by Lodi and Piacenza, a few months later, A.D. 1250, when Marchese Oberto Palavicino, Podestà of Cremona, defeated the troops of Parma, even capturing their Carroccio. These successes encouraged Frederic in the exertions he was, with still uncompromising energy, making, in his southern dominions, for the vigorous prosecution of the war, to which he must now have looked as the best, if not the only, way of recovering Enzo.

But the wound, inflicted by his son's captivity, was to be envenomed by the discovery, real or delusive, of treason, in one of his most favoured, most trusted, friends and servants. Whether Pietro delle Vigne actually were a traitor, and if he were, what might be the extent and degree of his treason; or whether he were skilfully made to appear one, and again if so, whether by envious rivals, or by the machinations of the Papal faction; are all questions upon which contemporary authorities of course differ, according to their Guelph or Ghibeline prepossessions; and they are variously followed by later historians; even that laborious investigator, Raumer, confessing himself unable to find conclusive evidence amidst the Italian archives that have been laid open to him. The assertion that he fell, altogether unsuspected, a victim to Frederic's tyrannous rapacity, may assuredly be pronounced a calumny advanced by Innocent IV, but uncredited even by most Guelphs,<sup>(79)</sup>

and Giannone observes that, if the Protonotario and Grand-Judge was, indeed, innocent, many others of the Emperor's courtiers and ministers were indisputably sold to the Pope.

The low station (Guido Bonatti says that of a famished beggar) from which the Emperor had raised Pietro delle Vigne to the exalted posts of Grand-Judge and, in fact, Secretary of State, if not to that of Grand-Chancellor, will not have been forgotten; and he appears to have valued him as a companion and brother-songster, almost as highly as in his capacity of statesman. But, like most upstarts, whatever their abilities and merits, the poetic minister was arrogant and rapacious. Of the latter vice he is fully convicted by the uncontested fact, that, besides enriching many members of his family, the penniless student had accumulated wealth, such as to excite the cupidity, not only of the courtiers (whose enmity he thus provoked), but, according to the Pope, of the Emperor himself; a charge he could not have dreamt of making, had the fortune in question been moderate.<sup>(80)</sup> The former, arrogance, is said to have been manifested, offensively to Frederic, in so altering and modifying imperial measures, decrees, &c., as to adapt them more to his own views than to the Emperor's: such presumption appears to have been overlooked or pardoned, in consideration of his abilities and valuable services, or of the pleasure afforded by his society. When doubts of this favourite servant's fidelity were first conceived by Frederic, or first instilled into him, either by rival politicians, by courtiers, or by the bribed tools of Innocent, is uncertain. The Grand-Judge has indeed been accused of suspicious intercourse with the Pope during his mission to Lyons, in 1245;<sup>(81)</sup> but if so, it is evident that either Frederic rejected the accusation, or the accused justified himself, since he retained his master's confidence long after that mission, certainly up to, if not till after, the siege of Parma. The first manifestation of such doubts, with their simultaneous supposed corroboration, is thus recounted.

One member of the Protonotario Grand-Judge's household was a physician of superior skill, whom Frederic, when indisposed, as he now seems often to have been



occasionally consulted. Being taken ill at Capua, in the year 1249, he sent for him. Accompanied by Pietro delle Vigne, who was uneasy about the Emperor's health, the Doctor came, prescribed, and proceeded to compound the necessary potion. Whilst he was preparing it, Frederic, who had been previously assured that the leech, if not the minister, was suborned by Innocent to poison him, looking fixedly at the man of medicine, said: "Friend, my soul trusts you, yet beware that you give me not poison, in lieu of healing drugs." The Minister, startled by such an admonition, exclaimed: "My Liege, so often as he has administered healing draughts to you, why such an apprehension?" Without answering him, the Emperor again addressed the leech: "Drink half the potion, then give me the other half." As, preparatively to obeying the command, the physician, with the goblet in his hand, hastily advanced, he stumbled, fell, and spilt its contents: not completely however, and Frederic, his suspicions increased by the seeming accident, ordered the small remainder to be given to a criminal, then under sentence of death. It was done, and the man died. Upon this, to his mind "confirmation strong as proof of Holy Writ," Frederic burst into a flood of scalding tears, wrung his hands, and cried: "Woe is me! If those nearest and dearest to me thus seek my life, in whom shall I trust! How can I ever more rejoice in gladness!" Amidst such lamentations, he commanded his Minister either to be thrown into prison, or confined in his own splendid Capuan mansion: and it seems probable that he further caused his eyes to be put out; no uncommon punishment in those days, as sparing life, whilst rendering the dreaded individual innoxious through helplessness. But, sightless or seeing, Pietro in his captivity is said to have found means of committing suicide, whether by strangling himself, dashing his brains out against the wall of his dungeon, or flinging himself down from the roof of his palace, just as Frederic was riding past.<sup>(82)</sup>

In this whole story, the only points actually certain are, the captivity and suicide of Pietro delle Vigne; and concerning even these, some discrepancies still exist; some writers asserting, that Frederic, being then at Pisa,

merely gave Pietro into the hands of the Pisans, who imprisoned and ill-used him. The incident of the poisoned cup is averred to rest upon the single authority of Matthew Paris, and, even if true, is not conclusive against the minister, whose physician might be suborned without his knowledge; nay, the potion might be salutiferous, and the poison substituted by an enemy, amongst those commissioned to try it upon the criminal: as, indeed, seems most likely, from so deadly an effect being ascribed to the small remainder of the dose to be administered. Dante, who, though not a contemporary of Frederic and Pietro, had all opportunity of conversing with those who were—he held public office at Florence before the end of the century—acquits Pietro, ascribing his fate to the manœuvres and intrigues of envious rivals, and throwing doubt over his privation of sight.<sup>(83)</sup> Nevertheless, his suicide, taken in combination with his enormous wealth, must be owned to afford presumption of conscious guilt; and, without imputing to the favoured friend and minister a crime so atrocious as projecting the murder of his benefactor, it may be surmised, that, alarmed at the effects of the excommunication, seeing Frederic's health fail, and knowing Conrad, though brave and not deficient in talent, unequal to supplying his father's place, he might be tempted, at once to secure himself from future danger, and to receive the profuse rewards with which Innocent would purchase such an ally, by betraying his master's counsels, though not by poisoning him. But, on another hypothesis, how easily might Innocent and his agents write answers, to suppositious treasonable offers from the incorruptible Protonotario Grand-Judge, and play their letters into the Emperor's hands.

The guilt, real or fictitious, of his long-trusted Minister, involving the loss of a favourite companion, and of confidence in all around him, was a heavy blow to the Emperor, depressed as he already was by Enzo's captivity, and, although only in his 55th year, weakened in constitution, by the incessant fatigues and anxieties of his life. An attack of erysipelas ensued, from which he recovered to display his wonted energetic activity, raising troops in Italy, and procuring reinforcements of Saracens from

Africa to form an army, with which he again occupied the greater part of the Papal dominions. But he does not appear to have ever regained his bodily vigour. Still his affairs looked promising; Conrad was decidedly superior to the anti-king, in Germany; and south of the Alps, Ezze-lino was now lord of the whole country, from the Oglio to Trent in the Tyrol, where Bolsano likewise scarcely disputed his authority. Victory seemed about to recompense his long struggle; but whilst it was yet inchoate, his pleasure in the fair prospect and the actual success was damped by ill news from his, now, true friend, Lewis IX; and yet more by the cruel calumny, for which Innocent IV found occasion, in the disasters of the Crusade.

The royal Crusader had received, at Cyprus, an embassy from one of the Mongol Chiefs, announcing an inclination on his part towards Christianity, derived from a Christian mother; and inviting the King of France to attack Sultan Eyub, simultaneously with his own intended attack upon the Caliph at Bagdad, thus to prevent the former from assisting his spiritual Head. This proposal suiting well with the opinion held by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Grand-Masters of the Templars and Hospitalers—whom he had laboured, at length successfully, to reconcile—that Egypt, now the principal seat of Moslem power, must be conquered, to render the existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem possible, he sailed from Cyprus, in May, 1249, for one of the mouths of the Nile, and, after a gallant struggle, happily made himself master of Damietta. Here the progress of Christian Europe in civilization and humanity appeared, in his forbidding the massacre of women and children, whom he ordered to be made prisoners, and converted; even of men, recommending the capture and conversion rather than the slaughter.<sup>(84)</sup> But as though it were due to the Roman See to tread in a Legate's footsteps, he loitered at Damietta, even as Cardinal Pelayo had there loitered, throwing away the opportunity—offered by the death of Eyub, the absence of his son Turanshah, and the consequent cabals and intrigues amongst the Mamelukes—for striking a blow; and, again like Pelayo, began his march to Cairo just before the periodical rise of the river. Upon his way, he wasted more

time in constructing a dam or dyke across a canal that impeded his progress; and he suffered a heavy loss through the obstinate imprudence of his brother, the Comte d'Artois, in rashly pursuing a fugitive troop of Mamelukes. An obstinacy oddly explained by Joinville, the noble chronicler of this Crusade, as resulting from the deafness of the knight, who LED the Prince's horse; and who heard neither the furious clamours of the Templars, against such a violation of their rights as thus preceding them in action, nor the commands of the King's messenger to return, nor the cries to stop, of the obedient Robert himself. All this can, however, only be conjecture, as both Prince and knight, rushing into the midst of the Mohammedans, were slain. A series of subsequent idle delays and injudicious measures finally placed Lewis, in spite of great gallantry, in the precise position, in which Jean de Brienne and Cardinal Pelajo had been before him. Hemmed in between the waters of the Nile and the daily increasing hosts of the enemy, unable to advance or retreat, or to procure provisions for his army, he was compelled to open negotiations, and offer ransom for leave to evacuate the country.

Frederic, upon learning the melancholy condition of the Crusaders, despatched an embassy to the Sultan of Egypt, to mediate in his name in behalf of the French King; to whom he at the same time transmitted a sum of money, to facilitate the payment of ransom, by which alone he could hope to escape. Whilst he was thus generously exerting himself to help the royal Crusader out of the difficulties in which he had so unwisely involved himself, Innocent loudly accused him of having, in the first place, caused the disaster, by betraying Lewis to the Sultan, and in the next set on foot intrigues with the same Sultan, in order to prolong, if not to perpetuate, the captivity of the King and his army. That he would, as bound by treaty, give Eyub notice of the termination of the truce by a royal Crusade—though the information must surely have been supererogatory—need not be disputed; but that Egypt was threatened—the direction of the enterprise having been decided only in Cyprus, and probably put in execution before known in

Italy—he could not warn him. Clearly no warnings had prevented the capture of Damietta, after which there was nothing to betray. Frederic appears to have felt this imputation more keenly, than any of the preceding calumnies heaped upon him.

Perhaps the declining state of his health, and the afflictions that within the last two or three years had so rapidly accumulated around him, might have rendered him more sensitive, and the consequences of that sensitiveness were now about to reach their climax. Upon the 29th of November, 1250, at Firenzuola, not far from Luceria, the Emperor was taken ill. How long he struggled against the fatal disease seems not quite certain; for, whilst the 13th of December is most generally named as the day of his death,<sup>(85)</sup> and often noticed as the anniversary of that lamented event, Christmas day is so called upon many occasions. But whether the illness lasted a fortnight only, or nearer to a month, during its continuance, the Archbishop of Palermo, who, years before had satisfied himself of the orthodoxy of his sovereign's faith, solemnly relieved him from excommunication, re-admitting him into the bosom of the Church. His body was conveyed to his favourite residence, Palermo, and there, in the month of February next ensuing, with all the rites and ceremonies of religion, interred. The Sicilian magnates recorded their estimate of their lost Sovereign upon his monument.<sup>(86)</sup>

Of all Frederic's numerous children, only his favourite son Manfred was with him during his illness, to watch by his side and close his eyes. And as he most especially inherited, with his father's talents and powers of captivation, the papal hatred for the heroic house of Swabia, Innocent and the Guelph faction took advantage of the circumstance to charge him with parricide; asserting, some that he administered poison to his slightly indisposed father, others, that he smothered him with a pillow.<sup>(87)</sup> Why a son, not the heir, should murder a fond parent, from whose affection and power he had everything to hope, in order to transfer the sovereignty to a half brother whom—living and reigning in Germany, whilst he himself was growing up in Italy—he scarcely knew, the Pope,

his original accuser, did not take the trouble of explaining. Ghibeline writers equally ascribe Frederic's premature death, at the age of 56, to poison, but charge the crime more plausibly upon the hostile Pope or his agents, not upon the sufferer's favourite child.<sup>(88)</sup>

During his last illness, Frederic made a will, which in various respects claims notice. In those days, kingdoms were considered as royal property,<sup>(89)</sup> and the Emperor bequeathed his realms and subjects, as he would manors and cattle. His old engagement, to sever the Sicilies from Germany, he might naturally deem cancelled by the persecution he had undergone from the Popes, Gregory IX and Innocent IV; and, taking no notice of any such intention, he names, as universal heir, his eldest surviving son, Conrad; in case of Conrad's dying without children, his youngest son, Henry; and in case of his also dying childless, Manfred. This nomination of Manfred as a possible heir, yet postponing him to his younger brother, the son of the Empress Isabel, seems clearly to mark the imperfect legitimacy of his birth. The children of his guilty eldest son, Henry, are wholly omitted in the series of successive heirs to the crown; the father's forfeiture of his birthright having, apparently, annihilated all the pretensions of his posterity. A few lesser bequests follow; they are, to Henry, at Conrad's choice, either the kingdom of Arles or that of Jerusalem, to be held in vassalage of Conrad, as Emperor, with a sum of 10,000 ounces of gold; to Manfred, the principality of Tarento and some Apulian and Sicilian counties, in vassalage to Conrad, as King of Sicily; and a direction that, whenever Conrad shall be in Germany, Manfred shall be his Lieutenant or Vicar, on either side the Faro; employing their younger brother, Henry, as his substitute in insular Sicily, when he should himself be on the continental side—(a singular provision as in conjunction with the kingdom bequeathed Henry); to his grandson, Frederic, the eldest son of his deceased eldest son Henry, he bequeathed the duchy of Austria, to which he had already nominated him, with 10,000 ounces of gold, intended, probably, in his case, as in his uncle Henry's, to assist the legate in taking possession of his bequeathed dominions. Neither legitimate daughters

nor illegitimate children are mentioned in the will, its further provisions relating chiefly to the allotment of 100,000 ounces of gold to the recovery of the Holy Land, and instructions relative to the rebuilding of ruinous churches, the restoration of such ecclesiastical rights as might be compatible with those of the Empire and the Emperor—conditions possibly of his relief from excommunication—a bequest to the see of Palermo—which might be in acknowledgment of the Archbishop's so relieving him—directions for the treatment of vassals, of all classes, according to the laws of the country, and a command to release all prisoners except traitors.

Of a man so eminent and so variously appreciated, it is impossible to take leave, without a further glance at the opinions entertained of him, by his contemporaries and by posterity. Perhaps, the most striking point in those opinions is the high praise, finally bestowed upon him, even by those, who have most reprobated his conduct throughout their narrative. Villani, who taxes Frederic II, besides other crimes, with the murder of his second wife Yolante, with falsely accusing his eldest son of rebellion, and then causing him to be murdered in his prison, winds up by allowing him talent, wisdom, learning, generosity, and other good qualities, blaming only his addiction to sensual pleasures, and his scepticism touching a future state.<sup>(90)</sup> Malaspina, who adopts most of Innocent IV's accusations, says, that he was valiant, frank, naturally most wise, generous, and courteous, well versed in science, and master of six languages, viz., Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, and Saracenic. Jamsilla, a more favourable historian, especially lauds his justice, which he says was such, "that any man might appeal to the tribunals against the Emperor, whose rank gave him no advantage, and no lawyer feared to undertake the cause of the meanest of these arraigners of their sovereign. Yet did his clemency often temper the rigour of his justice." Dante places him in the realms of eternal perdition, but solely as a heretic; and of two modern writers republican in principle, the Italian Arrivabene says, that Frederic II's only heresy was banishing the Mendicant Orders; whilst the Swiss, Zschockke, thinks, that he respected all the just rights of the Church,

but provoked censure by his disdain, too openly shown, for all prejudices. In the last century, Muratori, naturally, from his position in the service of the Guelph house of Este, opposed to the Emperors, after saying: "*I vizii di Federico eran majuscoli*," observes: "Convien dire che la Storia di questi tempi è alterata di troppo dalle passioni, dalle calunnie, dalle dicerie, che non ci lasciano discernere la verità di tutte le magagne d'allora." That, in him, great faults were blended with great virtues and splendid talents, will now hardly be questioned; but perhaps those faults have less affected his reputation, than his being too much in advance of his age to be understood by his contemporaries. Thence his want of needful influence.

A few words more, touching the love of science so generally attributed to Frederic—even if it should be thought that such notice properly belongs to the Chapter upon the condition of the century in relation to science and other kindred subjects—may be here indulged to the interest awakened by this remarkable Sovereign. His patronage of learning and letters, as shown in his foundation of the Neapolitan University, in his zealous and liberal exertions to foster the studies to which it was dedicated, and yet more, perhaps, in his gift of translations made by his orders for their promotion in his own University, to the rival Guelph, University of Bologna, has been already mentioned. So has his love and talent for poetry, his inviting poets to his court, and there contending with them for the laurel crown, and his cultivation of the living languages of his dominions. It may, however, be added, that, although his Latin verses are not held in much esteem by later critics, those in the vulgar tongue of Sicily are judged by the same authority, Tiraboschi, to show fancy, a lively sense of the beauties of nature, and poetic feeling. Whether he, or Pietro delle Vigne, were the inventor of the sonnet, in its true Italian form, is still a question, although the oldest specimen extant be from the pen of the Judge: but if this especial proof of creative genius be denied him, Frederic devised various complicated metres, in the admired troubadour style.

But Frederic, busy, agitated, and even harassed, as was his life, did not confine his intellectual efforts to the



lighter branches of literature. He preceded Albertus Magnus, and Friar Bacon, as well as Lord Bacon, in substituting observation to speculation. He occupied himself much with astronomy, which he studied independently of astrology. He made a philosophic use of his friendly relations with Oriental princes, very materially to enlarge his knowledge of Natural History, by obtaining from them animals then unknown in Europe, as elephants, camels, lions, tigers, even camelopards, and various others, which were carefully tended in gardens, or *menageries*. He himself wrote a book upon falconry; as did his Marshal, Giordano Rufo, under his superintendence and instruction, one upon the horse; which are said to show, the first, such perspicuous views of ornithology, and both, such intelligent perceptions in comparative anatomy, as entitle the Emperor to a very high place amongst early Naturalists. This spirit of physical investigation led to various useful experiments, and to some idle ones,—if, in the then state of scientific ignorance, any can justly be termed idle—which last were distorted by his enemies into crimes. A single instance of each may suffice. He ordered two dogs to be similarly fed, and the one immediately taken a-hunting whilst the other slept; then both to be killed and opened, in order to ascertain which process was the most favourable to digestion. The Minorite, Salimbeni, who, contrary to general testimony, makes two condemned criminals the subjects of this investigation, as bitterly condemns the following. In order to ascertain which is the natural or original language, he had two children reared from their birth by mutes, and their first words sedulously watched for.<sup>(91)</sup> This attempt proved an absolute failure; both children dying, perhaps for want of tender nursing, but, the Franciscan thinks, as the inevitable consequence of such inhuman silence.

Patrons of the Fine Arts other monarchs had so far been, as to build churches, castles, and palaces; decorating their architectural works with sculpture and painting, such as they then were. But so destitute had they been of the sense of beauty in these arts, that the most exquisite temples and theatres remaining as specimens of the masterpieces of classical antiquity, had, together with the

statues contained in them, been considered merely as magazines of stone, whence building materials might be procured more conveniently and cheaply than from distant quarries. Frederic II appears to have been nearly the first person who perceived the marvellous beauty of these remains, their ineffable superiority to all subsequent productions; and he ordered excavations in search of sculpture to be made in various places, chiefly in Sicily. He found a congenial spirit in the artist, Nicola Pisano, who, waiting upon him to submit architectural designs for churches, castles, and palaces, to his inspection, was immediately taken into his service and employed to execute some of his plans. Thenceforward Nicola was Frederic's principal architect, sculptor, goldsmith, and civil engineer; and, conscious of the excellence of the ancients, he laboured to form himself upon their model. The degree to which he succeeded can be appreciated only by those who have had an opportunity of comparing his carvings with those of his predecessors and contemporaries. Frederic's beautiful gold coin, the already-mentioned *augustale*, despite the Angevine usurper's endeavours to suppress it, still exists to exhibit Nicola's skill in that department. But in the Arts, as in Literature, Frederic was not a mere patron; the designs for some of his edifices were his own; nor did he give his attention to the ornamental alone. He built and repaired towns. He employed Nicola as an engineer, amongst other things to repair the gigantic Roman works for preventing the destructive overflow of the lake Celano. He himself is said to have devised improvements in fortification, and a monument of his own engineering talent remains in the bridge over the Volturno, at Capua, said to have been wholly built from his own plans. Upon this bridge the grateful Capuans placed statues of the Emperor and his two Italian Judges, Pietro delle Vigne and Taddeo da Suessa, though whether the work of Nicola Pisano himself, or of his scholar, Nicola Matuccio, is a question upon which connoisseurs were divided as long as the statues were extant, the bent of opinion being for the latter. Undecided it must now be laid to rest; the image of Frederic, which alone of the three had survived the injuries of time, having, in the maniac antipathy to royalty

and antiquity, with which, at the close of the last century, the first French revolution had filled the minds of the ignorant, been thrown down, mutilated, and finally destroyed. Fortunately, the Neapolitan historical antiquary, Daniele, had, some time before, had a cast of the head taken, and a ring cut from the cast. The cast, like the statue is lost, but the ring still exists, in the possession of one well entitled to the relic, namely, the German historian of the House of Hohenstaufen, Friedrich von Raumer. The resemblance between the head upon the ring and the head upon the remaining augustali, or rather their identity, is said to be striking.

Frederic's chief musicians appear to have been Saracens; but he himself was, in contemporary judgment, only too successful as an amateur; his skill in this art being, in the eyes of Salimbeni and Gregory IX, nearly as heinous a sin as his employment of Moslem performers, probably his instructors. The acme of his offences in this kind, however, was the appearance at his court of dancing girls, sent him by his Moslem allies—*Almè*, it may be presumed from Egypt—and the sole extenuation of this offence against Christian decorum, must be sought in the description, given by Matthew Paris, of their performance before the Earl of Cornwall when visiting his sister Isabella. This entertainment was given by the Emperor, not to the Earl, but to the Empress, in her private apartment—to which, according to mediæval custom, she seems to have been then confined by expectation, not actually immediate, of an increase of family—and she invited her brother to enjoy it with her. She would hardly have been thus gracious, relatively to the fair dancers, if jealous of them. The historian, who is likely to have received the account from the Prince's lips, represents the dance as alike beautiful and marvellous; and also, by implication, at least, as free from the customary objectionable character, no idea of pain to the modesty of an English princess, appearing. He says, that two wondrous fair Saracen maidens presented themselves, standing each upon two balls. Upon these balls they moved over a polished floor, striking their cymbals in harmony with their gay song; fled each other, sought each other, intertwined their arms in divers pretty

attitudes; then, discarding a ball apiece, gracefully pursued the discarded balls, each moving upon her single remaining ball; recovered the others, and began a new series of dances in various fashions.

Frederic's love for the favourite mediæval pastimes, the chase and hawking, shows itself in his treatise on falconry, in his extant letters, dated from the most distant parts of his dominions, inquiring after particular hawks and their broods, giving directions for their management, &c., and in the numerous train of falconers, huntsmen, dogs, birds, trained leopards—Oriental were superadded by him to the European forms of the chase—that accompanied him wherever he went. The main difference, in this respect, betwixt him and his contemporaries, princes or subjects, being, that his pastime was to them an engrossing pursuit, and that he sought rest from its fatigues in pleasures somewhat more intellectual than those of the wine-cup. Though keeping a table described as delicately magnificent, he was remarkably temperate in his habits.

## BOOK V.

CONRAD IV—WILLIAM—RICHARD.

### CHAPTER I.

CONRAD IV.

*End of Lewis IX's Crusade—State of Germany—Conrad and William—Innocent's Return to Italy—Manfred's first Regency—Difficulties—Exploits—Negotiations. [1250—1252.*

It may be well, ere proceeding with the history of the Holy Roman Empire and the Sicilies, succinctly to narrate the conclusion of the canonized French King's Crusade, with which the history has no further connexion. And, first, a word relative to the Moslem rulers of Egypt.

Eyub, the Sultan whom Lewis attacked, had looked upon the Mamelukes as both his most efficient force, and that in which—from their insulated position, as slaves purchased in childhood and trained solely for war—he might place most confidence. In this belief, he had so augmented their numbers, that now—Eyub himself having, as before said, died during the royal Crusader's delay at Damietta, and his only son, Turanshah or Moattam, as he is diversely named, being in Syria—they were really masters of Egypt. For the moment, however, the deceased Sultan's favourite wife, Chajahreldor, (in English) the Pearl-tree, managed to elude their sovereignty. Having no son of her own for whom to seek the throne, she resolved to secure it

for the right heir. To him she instantly despatched intelligence of his father's death; whilst at home, carefully concealing that event, she, in the name of Eyub, issued orders to Bibars Bondokdar, the chief Emir of the Mamelukes, to swear allegiance to Turanshah, and make his subordinate Emirs do the same. Not till he and they had thus pledged themselves and their men, did she reveal the fact that the Sultan was no more:<sup>(92)</sup> and, feeling themselves bound, they attempted not to oppose Turanshah's accession.

Army, court, and country were now anxiously expecting the new monarch; so were Lewis and his Crusaders, whose fate, hemmed in, as they were, beyond the possibility of escape, and hourly looking for massacre or actual starvation—only by the surrender of their arms could they, so situated, purchase food—hung upon his nod. But not in inaction did the Mamelukes expect him. They meditated the recovery of Damietta, by such a detachment as could safely be spared from the business of watching the Christian army. Had they succeeded, their next measure would, no doubt, have been the butchery of their actual, and of their virtual prisoners, whom they kept in suspense, until the issue of the dash upon Damietta should be known.

Connected with this attempt is one of the incidents that characterize the Middle Ages. Queen Margaret had accompanied her consort upon his Crusade: but, being far advanced in pregnancy, when the army quitted Damietta, she was judged unfit to encounter the fatigues and dangers of the march to Cairo; and left there to await, as was supposed, in quiet security, the birth of her child. There she learned the King's disasters, and the threatening approach of the Mamelukes; and, immediately sending for an old Knight, especially charged with her protection, she knelt at his feet, and required him to bind himself by a solemn oath to grant her a yet unspoken boon. He of course took the required oath, and she asked her boon. It was that he would on no plea stir from her apartment; and, should the infidels master the town, would strike his sword to her heart, before they could reach her chamber. The old Knight, far from expressing admiration or sur-

prise at her prayer, or any reluctance to perform the dreadful office he had blindly undertaken, quietly answered, "Madam, I had already thought of so doing." Happily, the garrison showed itself prepared to make a resolute defence; and the Mameluke detachment—that had calculated upon either a surprise, or the discouragement caused by the King's position, for the success of their enterprise—felt that they were foiled. They abandoned their enterprise and retreated.

During this interval, Turanshah had reached Cairo, and, upon the repulse of the attempt to surprise Damietta, the negotiations with the French King assumed more activity. The terms, to which the young Sultan acceded, were, owing perhaps to the intervention of the Emperor Frederic, who was greatly respected by Levantine Moslem sovereigns, more liberal than invaders, so completely in his power, had any right to hope for. They were, that the royal Crusader should ransom himself and his host for a sum of 80,000 gold bezants—worth at that time somewhere about £50,000 sterling—and swear to evacuate Egypt, Damietta of course included. Further, all prisoners on both sides, made since the signature of the treaty with the Emperor Frederic, were to be released, and all things replaced, as far as might be, in the state ordered by that treaty. Whether Turanshah, like his grandfather, had Jerusalem to give, may be questionable; but the dissolution of the ephemeral Kharizmian domination seems to have left the city, for the moment, open to the first occupant; whilst the Sultan of Egypt was the strongest of those at hand to profit by the opportunity.

But all was not done when these terms were agreed upon. Scarcely was the treaty concluded, on neither side as yet confirmed by oath, when one of the contracting parties ceased to exist. The young Sultan had offended both her to whom he owed his crown, and those upon whom his retaining it depended. He demanded of his stepmother an account of his father's treasures: she replied, "They were spent in defending Egypt from the invader;" and became his enemy. He had brought Syrian courtiers and attendants with him to Cairo, and the favours lavished upon them irritated the Egyptian

Emirs. He betrayed dislike and contempt for the rude Mamelukes; and headed by their Emir, Bibars Bondokdar, they murdered him.

Turanshah Moattam had been an only child, and in his haste to secure his heritage, he had left his family in Syria. There was, therefore, no heir present to claim the succession. Eyubite princes, descendants of both Saladin and Malek el Adel, still, indeed, abounded; but they were absent, and do not appear to have been even thought of, upon this occasion. Moreover, Bibars was now all powerful, and though he chose not, then, to usurp the throne, he did chuse to seat thereon a sovereign, whose total want of birthright must insure submission to his will. To this end he proclaimed Eyub's widow, Chajahreldor, Sultana, giving her in marriage to an eminent Emir, named Asseddin Aibek; <sup>(93)</sup> puppets, who could, he was certain, move, but as he should pull the wires.

Whilst Bibars was thus arranging the government which he, as yet, shrank from openly assuming, Lewis and his Crusaders, having long since given up their arms as the main price of their daily bread, stood upon the brink of the grave. The Mamelukes, their appetite for blood quickened rather than slaked by the taste which they had had of Turanshah's, now thirsted for that of the Christians; who, disarmed and helpless, saw no chance of escape from the swords and daggers on all sides menacing them. But Bibars Bondokdar well knew the value of 80,000 gold bezaunts: and, hearing of their danger, hastened to avert their loss. With some difficulty could even he persuade the Mamelukes, that a large sum of money, and the peaceable surrender of Damietta, from before which their comrades had been repulsed, were advantages amply repaying the sacrifice of the pleasure anticipated in butchering Christians. That done, he, through his creatures, Chajahreldor and her husband, confirmed Turanshah's treaty.

But now again arose a difficulty. The mistrustful Emirs of the Mamelukes insisted, that, to the usual oath, Lewis should add these words: "If I keep not this engagement, may I be esteemed not only perjured, but a Christian who denies God, God's law, and his own bap-



tism, spitting and trampling upon the Cross!" offering in return, to bind themselves by a similar imprecation with regard to Mohammed. But Lewis positively refused to utter such blasphemy; and his refusal enhancing the mistrust that had dictated the demand, Emirs and Mamelukes, with drawn swords, menaced instant death in case of non-compliance. Lewis answered: "God has made you masters of my body, but not of my soul; that is in no hands but his alone." The Mamelukes, imputing this refusal to the admonitions of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, seized the old man, and bound his hands behind his back so tightly, that the blood burst from his fingers. The tortured octogenarian prelate entreated the King to pronounce the imprecation, since, as he meant honestly to fulfil his promises, the penalty could never be incurred; adding that if sin there were in uttering the horrid words, that sin he took upon his own soul. Still the King hesitated, partly lest accident should prevent fulfilment to the letter, in every the most minute point, and he *should* thus incur the penalty, partly from sheer horror at uttering blasphemy. And at length his persisting in scrupulosity convinced the Mamelukes that he must be honest.<sup>(94)</sup> They were now satisfied with an ordinary oath.

The Crusaders were now amply supplied both with provisions and with boats to convey them down the Nile. Lewis, upon reaching Damietta, surrendered it, and embarked with his family and his army for Acre. There he found the Pisans and the Genoese, still, as they had for weeks been, reckless of the distressed Crusaders in Egypt, and employing all the artillery—if so it may be called—then known, in battering each other's piece of the town. Nor in other respects were the prospects of the new comers cheering. From the Prince of Antioch, reduced to the condition of a tributary to the Mongols, no assistance could be hoped. The Mongol Khan, who had sought Lewis's cooperation, had failed to perform his share of the engagement; and despondency prevailed amongst the Crusaders. Even the King's surviving brothers, the Earls of Poitiers and Anjou, were so infected with this feeling, that from Acre they returned to France, taking with them all who chose to think their vow discharged by the suffer-

ings and perils undergone in Egypt. Lewis himself felt that his Crusade was thus far a failure; and that he must accomplish something, ere he could reputably leave the East, as having achieved his adventure. Thus impressed, he remained behind with that portion of the army, which either sympathized with, or was bound to him.

In France, the tidings of the Egyptian disaster had given rise to great disorders. A new Crusade, for the King's rescue, was, without any authority, vehemently preached by an old Cistercian monk, usually called the Hungarian Magister, or Master, who asserted that he was commissioned so to do, by the Blessed Virgin, in an autograph letter. He addressed the most ignorant of the people, as ploughmen, shepherds (who took the cross in such numbers as to give his rabble the name of *Croisade des Pastoureaux*), shepherdesses, and children. For a while the Regent Blanche seems, from their professions and decent conduct, to have believed that their leaders meant well, though she could surely expect no advantage from their untaught zeal. But presently, either maniacs, or designing robbers, with criminals of all kinds, joining them, diverted their crusading zeal from the deliverance of their holy monarch, to the profitable punishment of more accessible misbelievers. They now plundered and murdered Jews; then—by some hallucination inconceivable in Crusaders—upon an ecclesiastical student's disputing their leader's mission, turned their rage against the clergy, who suffered all sorts of ill usage at their hands.<sup>(95)</sup> Government now interfered; troops were sent against the *Pastoureaux*; the leaders were slain or taken, and the rabble dispersed.

This strange insurrection furnished the Queen Regent with a plea, upon which earnestly to entreat that her son would return home. Lewis submitted the question to his noble fellow-crusaders, when a large majority decided for compliance with the Queen's wishes. A small minority, including Joinville, the biographer and friend of his sainted King, objected, because Queen Blanche had proved herself fully equal to governing France; and for a monarch to quit Palestine, without leaving any memorial of his efforts in behalf of the Holy City, were disgraceful. They spoke the very sentiments of Lewis, and he determined to re-

main, allowing those who blamed his resolution to return home.

But still Jerusalem was not restored, and Lewis, deserted by so many, was quite unequal to attempting a siege. He would now fain have made a pilgrimage thither, upon the plighted word of its Moslem masters and neighbours for his security; but, against thus risking his life upon Mohammedan safe-conducts, all unanimously remonstrated. The argument most influential, probably, with the devout King, was, that future crusaders might make his example a precedent, for holding their crusading vow thus easily fulfilled. He wept over his disappointment, made his pilgrimage to Nazareth, and occupied himself with fortifying Cæsarea, Joppa, and Sidon.

The alliance of the King of France was now sought by the Sultan of Aleppo, against the Mameluke murderers of his cousin Turanshah. Bibars Bondokdar, through Chahreldor and Asseddin, offered him more advantageous terms to join them, against Aleppo. Lewis, unblamed by Pope, Patriarch, or Military Orders,—all of whom had so furiously attacked Frederic for those treaties with Mohammedans, by which he had recovered a large portion of the Kingdom of Jerusalem with the Holy City itself,—negotiated with both parties, asking Jerusalem and little more than a line of communication with Acre, as the price of his alliance. Neither party agreed to his terms. The Sultan of Aleppo, aided by the Turkmans, drove the Mamelukes out of Palestine, but kept his conquest for himself. And tidings of the death of Queen Blanche, in December, 1252,—whose place, as regent of France, there was none to supply, inasmuch as the King durst not trust his brothers with such authority,—compelled Lewis to return home, without any compensation whatever for his disappointment; in fact with the mortifying consciousness of not having accomplished anything.

To resume the more especial subject of these pages. Conrad, upon receiving the intelligence of his father's death, at once committed his affairs, south of the Alps, as ordered by the late Emperor's will, to the conduct of his half-brother, Manfred; devoting his own time and thoughts solely to the establishment of his authority in Germany.

This he might fairly hope would not be a very tedious or difficult task, his prospects there being at least not discouraging. With respect to external relations he was at ease. His most powerful neighbour, France, grateful for the late Emperor's good offices, was kindly disposed towards him, and had she been the reverse, the prolonged absence of the King, with some of his best warriors, incapacitated her for hostile enterprise. Waldemar of Denmark had never been able to regain the Slavonian provinces, surrendered as the price of his release from captivity; and, since his decease, A.D. 1241, his sons, scarcely one of whom died a natural death, had been at war with each other for the crown; Eric, his heir, the best of them, being presently murdered by his brother Abel. Nothing but the weakness of the Empire, caused by papal persecution of the Emperor, had saved Denmark from being again reduced to vassalage; and, this weakness long continuing and increasing, Danish history is henceforward as unconnected with that of Germany, as can well be that of any two neighbouring states. Poland, similarly engrossed with the broils of her many Dukes, who ruled now conjointly, now independently, and with dread of, or resistance to, the ever-recurring inroads of the Mongols, similarly escaped renewed vassalage, solely by the debility of the Empire.

Russia was now enslaved by that division of the Mongols which had settled upon the Volga, and not even at peace in her slavery. The north-western Vassal Princes, were generally at war with Sweden or the Teutonic Knights, or with both together, for sovereignty over the still independent Heathen tribes, inhabiting the eastern shores of the Baltic. In the south, Daniel of Halitsh showed some disposition to meddle with German affairs; but his real object was security at home. In the hope of obtaining efficient allies against his Mongol masters, he had taken an active part with Bela of Hungary, and Wenceslas of Bohemia in their quarrel with the Duke of Austria, as he now did in asserting Ottocar's pretensions to the duchy.

Hungary, as yet only recovering, and that slowly, from Mongol devastation, limited her interference with German affairs to the struggle for the adjacent Austrian duchy.

The Eastern Empire, for which several Greek princes were contending, whilst Baldwin II hardly maintained himself within the walls of Constantinople, could scarcely be said to exist; and Servia and Bulgaria felt their independence more secure.

Germany itself was much in its ordinary condition. The disputed succession to Thuringia remained undecided, although the division, in which it eventuated, had already in a manner taken place. The Margrave of Misnia had at length accepted the Saxon palatinate and the eastern province, with the hand of the Imperial Princess, for his son and heir Albert: and, this half of the principality being absorbed into the margraviate of Misnia, the name of this once mighty kingdom, duchy, and lastly landgraviate of Thuringia, vanishes from the map of Europe. Not so, however, the latter title; it was merely limited to the western provinces, of which the Duchess of Brabant held possession; and, as the landgraviate of Hesse, they, in the end, became the portion of her son, Henry, surnamed the Child:—a son of the Duke's prior marriage inheriting Brabant. But this division, though existing as a fact, was not yet legalized by a Diet, or recognised by the parties: both of whom still claimed the whole; or, at the very least, the Duchess, the eastern *allodia*; the Margrave, a large share of the western fiefs. Tranquillity was therefore far from restored.

But, if some prospect of subsidence appeared in Thuringia, in Austria the contest became, from day to day, more complicated. Those who desired a hereditary Duke were now divided, some acknowledging Margaret, on condition of her marriage to Ottōcar, others her son Frederic, and others again her niece Gertrude. Gertrude indeed soon alienated her partisans. She had lost her second husband, the Margrave of Baden; and, leaving her infant children by him, Frederic and Agnes, to the care of his aunt, the Duchess of Bavaria, she remarried with a son of the Russian Prince of Halitsh, greatly offending the Austrians. To anticipate a little, in order to have done with this uninteresting princess, her Russian consort, when he found her pretensions unpopular, deserted her; whereupon she, in utter regardlessness of her children's interests, her

own dignity, and her maternal duties, sold her birthright to Bela IV for a mess of porridge, or in other words for support and protection. Thenceforward, those who had been her partisans were divided between Bela, who at once put forward his claim, and her son, another Frederic.

The ducal title of Meran was extinct, with the race that bore it; having expired in the person of the only son of Duke Otho and Beatrice of Hohenstaufen, King Philip's niece; as if nuptials, so inauspiciously solemnized, could not escape the doom of those who had stained them with blood. The large widely scattered possessions of the Andechs family were divided amongst sisters of the last Duke, and collaterals.

The confederation of towns, self-entitled the Rhine League, was prosperous and increasing; comprising, about this time, nearly sixty cities. Divers Saxon towns followed the example set them on the Rhine, as did, a little later, others in Franconia. But all alike, though, with scarcely an exception, loyal to Conrad, were absorbed in the especial business of the Leagues; to wit, in repressing the noble marauders who were fostered by the debility of the sovereign authority. Throughout most German provinces the usual broils existed; and, whilst nearly everywhere the clergy, at Innocent's bidding, supported the Anti-king, his uncle the Duke of Brabant, with some few Lotharingian connexions, alone amongst the Princes deserted the Imperial cause.

Innocent, upon learning the death of his mighty antagonist, resolved, with a view to deriving the greatest possible advantage from the event, to resume his station in Italy without loss of time; and at once despatched the Archbishop of Ravenna thither, to prepare the way for him. But he likewise felt it indispensable before he left the vicinity of Germany, to place his Anti-king in a position similarly to profit by that event. His first measures in Italy, therefore, were taken from Lyons; and all of them clearly proved that his fierce persecution of Frederic II, was not provoked by sinfulness, heresy, misbelief, or disbelief, in him, but originated solely in the desire to overthrow a dynasty, whose power and individual energies opposed a formidable and increasing barrier against papal

usurpation of sovereignty. He persecuted the youthful Conrad, whom he charged with no personal fault, as inveterately as his father. He addressed letters to the Apulians and Sicilians, containing the most inflated, and really brutal congratulations upon their deliverance from the storms that had so long desolated the land; to which were added information that the deposal of Frederic included that of his son Conrad, and a consequent positive prohibition to acknowledge any king of the Hohenstaufen race, or indeed any authority but that of the Pope, as Lord Paramount. The letters concluded with a command immediately to set up the standard of the Church, his Holiness having determined never more to grant Sicily or Apulia to emperor, king, duke, or earl, but to incorporate those countries indissolubly with the Estates of the Church.<sup>(96)</sup> At the same time he is said to have covertly instigated the towns, that had greatly thriven under Frederic's liberal policy, to aim at the republican forms and independence of the Lombard cities.<sup>(97)</sup> Probably he thought awakening such aspirations the only chance of alienating them from Frederic's son, while such feeble republics could never, without external protection, resist the will of a pope.

To Germany he addressed epistles equally violent and imperious, commanding every prince, prelate, noble, city, town, and village, as they would, here and hereafter, escape the severest pains and penalties of the Church, to forsake Conrad, the excommunicated son of an excommunicated father, and acknowledge William as their king. He commanded the Margrave of Misnia to break off the matrimonial contract between his son and the deposed Emperor's daughter; or, if the marriage were unfortunately already solemnized, to beware that he be not thereby seduced from his allegiance to King William. He enforced the interdict upon all places that should adhere to Conrad; further commanded all the possessions of Ghibelines to be confiscated; and pronounced the private property of the House of Hohenstaufen, in Swabia, Franconia, and elsewhere, forfeited, as well as its crowns.

If Innocent failed in his endeavour thus to raise up an

enterprising party for his anti-king in Germany, he succeeded in checking the activity of those who would not desert the lawfully elected monarch, to whom they had sworn allegiance. The Margrave of Misnia celebrated his son's union with Conrad's half-sister, but took so little share in the contest for the Empire, that he might be called neutral. Of the Duke of Bavaria, though perforce staunch to his imperial son-in-law, much the same might be said; his wish to secure the ducal hat of Austria to the son of his wife's nephew, an orphan domiciliated in his palace, and like a child of his own, engrossing his energies. If the loyalty of Conrad's connexions and relations was thus passive, what could be expected from others? Some of the cities upon the Rhine, indeed, expelled their bishops for publishing the bull of excommunication against the young, unoffending monarch, to whom all had sworn allegiance; but most of his adherents were content to wish him well in silence. Even in his own Swabia, where the democratic Swiss cantons, Schwitz, Uri, and Zurich, confederated to support their sovereign, (the first Swiss confederation known), several great vassals, allured by the prospect of dividing the Hohenstaufen domains, forsook him; and the majority of the lower nobles desired only to prolong that absence of controlling authority, which left free scope to their tyrannical, as to their marauding propensities.

But the now impatient heads of the Papal faction, without waiting to ascertain the result of the various endeavours to gain partisans, adopted against Conrad the nefarious projects that had scarcely been disowned against his father. The loyal citizens of Ratisbon had solicited the protection of Conrad and Duke Otho against the oppression of their Guelph, ecclesiastical superiors, their Bishop, and the Abbot of St. Emeran. The armed intervention of the King and the Duke, driving the prelates out of the town, compelled them to sue for peace; when a reconciliation between the parties was seemingly effected. The Bishop, upon returning to his palace within the walls, found it, as he must have expected, materially damaged by the triumphant hostile party. It is asserted that his exasperation at this very common-place incident of civil war, was so excessive, as to give consistency to a vague



project, already floating in his mind; and, with more devotion to Innocent, than to HIM, whose ordained minister, Innocent like himself, was, he resolved that Conrad, as an enemy of the Church, should be sacrificed, *i.e.*, murdered, for the honour of God. The opportunity seemed favourable, as the young sovereign, unapprehensive of danger amongst the loyal citizens of Ratisbon, occupied a house so small, as not to afford nocturnal accommodation for more than himself and four attendants.

In the middle of the night, when all Ratisbon slept, a band of armed men, vassals and hirelings of the Bishop and the Abbot, attacked the house, broke down the outer door with axes, killed the first servant who attempted to oppose their entrance, made prisoners of the other three, burst into the royal bedchamber, and plunged their swords and daggers into the body of its occupant, as he lay asleep. Then, rushing into the street, they roused the citizens from their slumbers, with the triumphant announcement, that they had delivered the Empire from the excommunicated, intrusive prince, a sacrilegious rebel against the Pope. In this they were mistaken. A devotedly loyal vassal of his lawful, though excommunicated, sovereign, a Graf von Eberstein, Eversheim, or Wysheim, for unhappily such discordance touching the name of this hero exists amongst the old chroniclers, discovered the scheme, so completely at the last moment, that he had barely time to get into the king's quarters, before the assassins appeared. There was not a moment to awaken the neighbourhood, or in any way to seek assistance; he therefore merely persuaded Conrad not to attempt resistance against overwhelming numbers, but to foil the murderers, by so concealing himself as to elude their search. Conrad followed his counsel. But this genuinely loyal vassal and devoted friend well knew that no concealment could long escape discovery, if the search were, as it would be, vigorously prosecuted; therefore, lying down in the bed his King had just quitted, he silently, in apparent sleep, received the wounds designed for his liege Lord.

When Conrad learned the price at which he had been saved, his grief and rage were unbounded; but his position and his public duties compelled him to restrain

these feelings. His friends urged that, excommunicated as he already was, to risk further alienating the clergy by shedding ecclesiastical blood, would really be rendering the sacrifice by which he had been rescued of no avail. The Bishop was suffered to fly; and he fled, uncensured by the unapostolic successor of St. Peter, for either his intended regicide, or the actual murder committed by his orders. He took refuge in Bohemia; and as, encouraged, perhaps, by impunity, he subsequently perpetrated crimes less venial than regicide in Innocent's eyes, he ended by being deprived of his see, and compelled to take the monastic vow. The Abbot of St. Emeran was less fortunate. By the orders of the King and the Duke he was seized, deposed, and punished, though not capitally; the rights and privileges of the Abbey were pronounced forfeited; and only the humbly earnest prayers of the monks saved the abbey itself from destruction. The house, the scene of the flagitious deed, was razed, and a chapel built upon its site. This attempt upon Conrad's life was made upon the 28th of December, 1250, in one fortnight after the death of his father.

Meanwhile both King and Anti-king were diligently preparing for a trial of strength. The Pope's orders to all the ecclesiastical princes, to appear in arms with every vassal they could command or influence, were stringent. The newly elected Archbishop of Mainz, nevertheless, positively refused to raise troops for any anti-king, grounding his refusal upon the scriptural injunction against unsheathing the sword; he added the remark, that the business of the Supreme Head of the Church was to make peace, not war. Innocent instantly deposed him, appointing in his stead a Graf von Eppenstein, of course a partisan of William's, and who, it is alleged, helped on his nomination by the payment of a handsome sum of money into the papal treasury. Such a contribution was much needed; for so exhausted was the Anti-king's exchequer, that, in order to take the field, he was, even then, mortgaging Burgundian and Arelat towns, namely, Arles, Besançon, and Lausanne, to the French Duke of Burgundy, for 10,000 marks of silver. The fugitive Bishop

of Ratisbon, as yet exulting at the Court of Bohemia, in his impunity, was otherwise serving the Papal cause there, by exciting Wenceslas to invade Bavaria; thus to deprive Conrad of his father-in-law's forces, by keeping them at home for the defence of his own duchy.

Whilst Conrad was weakened by the compulsory absence of Duke Otho, and the reluctance of many of his friends to come forward, the Bishop of Metz brought William considerable reinforcements from Lorraine. In the spring of 1251, the adversaries met near Oppenheim, and Conrad, again placed in disadvantageous circumstances, again suffered a defeat. The triumphant Antiking hastened to Lyons to exchange congratulations with Innocent. He was received with all the honours that a Pope could, without detriment to his own asserted supremacy, pay an Emperor; and in return readily acknowledged, as lawful, all papal encroachments and usurpations in Germany. Could he do less, when to such an usurpation of the rights of the Chapter of Mainz he was, perhaps, indebted for his recent victory?

Innocent now felt that he had one enough for his German dependent, to allow of leaving him to his own resources; and, immediately after this interview, set out for Italy. He took his way through Savoy, in order to win that powerful county back from the Ghibeline interest; nor was this difficult. Amedeo was dead; his heir, Bonifazio, a minor; and the regency in the hands of the boy's uncle, Conte Tommaso, the husband of Beatrice Fiesca. The only remaining Ghibeline tie of the family was the marriage of Bonifazio's sister, Beatrice, to Manfred; and the minor had no voice in the matter.

Innocent next visited Milan, where he was received with seeming cordiality, much festivity, and extraordinary honours; the *baldacchino*, or state canopy, is said to have been invented upon this occasion, expressly for him—a report that may be questioned—and he was requested to name the Podestà for the ensuing year. But his enjoyment of this reception was somewhat disturbed, by a request for the repayment of expenses incurred in his cause. He pleaded the exhausted state of his finances, through his exertions in Germany for the common good,

that is to say, for the relief of the Empire, on both sides of the Alps, from a race of ambitious, rapacious, irreligious tyrants; he promised largely for the future, and hurried forward to avoid further urgency. When safe beyond the territories of his creditors, he, rather indiscreetly, retaliated the unwelcome demand for money, by attacking some late Milanese encroachments upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the consequence of which was, that in this virtual metropolis of Lombardy, Guelphism cooled down to the degree of selecting a Ghibeline, an uncle of Manfred's, Marchese Lancia, as Captain-General of the Lombard League.

At Bologna, the Pope made a politic display of clemency by soliciting the release of Enzo's fellow prisoner, Buoso da Doaro—Eboli seems to have been early ransomed or exchanged. This was granted: but his hopes of similarly obtaining the restitution of some portions of the Papal dominions, which this city had seized, were disappointed. In fact, his journey was by no means one of unalloyed satisfaction to Innocent. He had, in its course, by his arrogance and exorbitant expectations of support, alienated many of his partisans;<sup>(98)</sup> and he discovered that Guelph cities were Guelph—or in words more to the purpose, supported the Pope—only when to do so suited their own interest or passions. Florence he did not visit, perhaps thinking her securely Guelph and disagreeably democratic. There, upon the first news of the Emperor's death, the Guelphs had discarded their compelled tranquillity, and driven away both the Podestà appointed by Frederic of Antioch and the Ghibeline citizens, re-establishing their bi-mensually changed *Anziani*, with other ultra-popular institutions.

The Romans now invited the Pope to return to the metropolis of Christendom. But in that really papal metropolis, Innocent IV did not chuse, unless as its sovereign, to reside; and for this the season seemed unpropitious. The Romans had, during his absence, indulged in such thoroughly anarchal licence, their ideal of liberty, that they themselves, growing weary at length of their own violence, sought peace and security in submission to despotic control. To this end they appointed a sole

senator, an officer analogous, it will be remembered, to the Lombard Podestà, being similarly invested with temporary absolute authority. The person they selected for their Senator was Brancalone d'Andalone, Conte di Casalecchio, a Bolognese nobleman, distinguished for his wealth, his virtue, his inflexibility in the administration of justice, and his arbitrary temper. Brancalone waged war upon offenders of all kinds and of all classes; vanquishing and severely punishing all alike. Tranquillity was restored; but Innocent looked upon the sovereign power of the Senator as more inimical to the papacy than the frequent insurrections of the turbulent Romans. For the present, he judged that he had enough upon his hands, without engaging in a struggle with the Conte di Casalecchio for supremacy in Rome; and he preferred taking up his abode momentarily at Perugia or Anagni, whence he could as conveniently conduct his designs upon the Sicilian kingdom; whilst awaiting the hour, not very distant, he presumed, when the Romans should be tired of their Senator's rigorous justice.

The execution of his designs upon the Sicilies, the Pope flattered himself, could not be difficult, the government having devolved upon a youth — Manfred — scarcely eighteen years of age, and holding only imperfect, because delegated, authority. But what Manfred was, how truly the son of his father, or how ready were the great qualities he inherited from that great father to be elicited by the first emergency, the supreme Pontiff had yet to learn. And so had friend as well as foe; perhaps even Manfred was to be indebted to Innocent IV, for a thorough knowledge of himself. In proportion, as these paternal qualities developed themselves, the hatred, borne him merely for his father's sake, increased in acrimony. The aggregate of the sins, habitually laid to the charge of the deceased Emperor, became too small a mass of guilt when imputed to his son; and Manfred was further accused, as has been seen, of parricide, as will be seen, of fratricide and nepoticide. Yet, as in regard to Frederic II, the same chroniclers, who impute to Manfred such fearful crimes, superadded to manifold ordinary offences, depict him as wise, valiant, charitable to the poor, liberal in rewarding merit,

a patron of the arts as of the science<sup>(99)</sup> of the age, both a patron and a cultivator of literature, easy of access, courteously affable in his demeanour, and naturally beloved by all who approached him. It were needless to consult Ghibeline writers for the character of their hero, when thus described by his Guelph calumniators.

Upon first undertaking the government, the youthful Regent found the kingdom prosperous, tranquil, and loyal; in spite of factious misrepresentation, and the exertions of friars, so satisfactory to his subjects had been the rule of Innocent's reviled and excommunicated Nero, whose death had, as a happy riddance, been made matter of congratulation. Manfred retained all his father's ministers, sedulously trod in his father's footsteps in the government of the kingdom, and gloried, as much as he delighted, in the peaceful happiness he saw around him in Apulia, whilst Germany, like Lombardy, was torn with civil war. The state of Sicily, if equally satisfactory in regard to Conrad's interest, was, to Manfred individually, less so. His brother Henry, a boy of about eleven years, was of course only nominally his deputy, the administration of affairs being really intrusted to the young Prince's counsellor or tutor, the Marshal of Sicily. This officer was one Pietro Ruffo, or Matteo Rufo, as the name is variously given, another man of inferior birth, but of great talent and industry, whom Frederic II—the fosterer, unheeding adventitious circumstances of ability wherever met with—had raised to high posts. But Ruffo was ambitious; he probably, like Innocent, despised Manfred, as a mere youth, placed by parental fondness in a situation to which he must be unequal: thus the able upstart thought the opportunity favourable for acquiring more independent power; and whilst firmly maintaining Conrad's sovereignty, and resisting Papal usurpation, he disowned, as far as might be without an open breach, the young Regent's superior authority. He evaded giving Manfred's uncles, Galvano and Federigo Lania, possession of the Sicilian domains bestowed upon them by the late Emperor, and yet more obstinately, those added since his death, by their nephew. But Manfred was prudent beyond what could have been anticipated at his age; he made, for the moment,

no attempt to coerce Ruffo, and the island remained undisturbed.

But Manfred's task of vicarious sovereignty was destined to be arduous, and Innocent did not long permit him to reign in peace. He began the war, by once more filling the kingdom, on both sides of the strait, with swarms of Mendicant Friars, commissioned to disseminate the opinions and enforce the commands, contained in his, before-mentioned, epistles. He recalled Cardinal Capoccio from Germany, that he might direct the proceedings of these emissaries in Apulia, and assume the government as his Vicar or Lieutenant. By a proclamation, he annulled, rather than repealed, all that portion of Frederic's code which related to ecclesiastics, because a layman, from his inferior position, could not interfere with the laws of God, as set forth by the Church. He renewed and aggravated the interdict upon all places that should acknowledge, as king, a prince incapacitated by excommunication, as was Conrad IV, from succeeding to the throne. If by all these measures the Pope did not succeed to his wish in alienating the kingdom from its hereditary sovereign, he did in exciting doubts, dissensions, discontent, and impatience of the continuous interdict: as also in persuading some ambitious nobles, and a few very prosperous towns, that they would enjoy more power and more liberty, as Papal vassals, than under the sway of the mighty and unyielding German heirs of the Norman kings. His chief success was with the clergy, to great numbers of whom, independence of the state appears to have been an irresistible lure; though the wiser, and the higher members of that body, like far the larger part of the baronage, dreaded, for themselves, the despotism, which they saw boldly exhibited, in this arbitrary disposal of kings and emperors.

Manfred was speedily informed of the spirit of disaffection, thus generated in the realms committed to his charge; and it appears to have alarmed him, the rather, from his consciousness, that he could not rely upon the obedience, or even upon the cordial co-operation, of the Marshal of Sicily. Therefore, when he found that Naples and Capua, at the instigation of Papal emissaries, had so far for-

gotten their wonted loyalty as to close their gates against himself, the Regent appointed by the late Emperor, his alarm became serious. Under such circumstances, he shrank from a contest, as Regent, with the Pope, as Lord Paramount; and judged the personal presence of the actual sovereign necessary to counteract papal intrigue, and confirm the wavering fidelity of his people. Earnestly, therefore, did he entreat Conrad to visit his Sicilian kingdom forthwith; as a preliminary step, sending him the ratification of all their father's charters, whether to town or to noble, and of all his final commands; also of all the measures that he, Manfred, had taken, or might in case of emergency find it expedient to take. At the same time, being fully aware of the popular impatience provoked by any privation of religious rites, he would not delay seeking a reconciliation with the Pope. As a first move towards this important object, he caused overtures to be secretly made to Innocent, and inquiries as to the terms, upon which the excommunication and interdict would be revoked.

But, whilst awaiting the result of these applications, and hoping that his father's death might have somewhat allayed the pontiff's animosity, Manfred did not for an instant relax his preparations for defence. He exhorted barons, citizens, clergy, and peasants, to bear in mind the allegiance they had sworn to Conrad, as the lawful heir and successor of their long line of Norman Kings. In the Saracens, to whom the idea of a papal government must needs be odious, as necessarily fraught with intolerance of their religion, probably with expulsion from their homes, and confiscation of their property, he knew that he might feel perfect confidence; and he stationed them wherever he most distrusted the people. The German legion, which the late Emperor had brought to Apulia, he likewise believed to be staunch, and he left it encamped beside the ill-disposed city of Troja, whilst he himself repaired to Foggia, to raise more troops.

But, ere he could make any progress in this business, the Germans, whose pay was much in arrear, leaving Troja uncontrolled, appeared in battle array before Foggia, demanding their due, which they well knew Manfred had



not to give them, and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to procure it for themselves, by sacking the town. Upon this trying occasion the young Regent, who had no troops to oppose to them, displayed the spirit and genius of his race. He took no such precautionary measures, as betray the alarm that dictates them; but calmly sent the following message to the mutineers: "Why come ye in arms against me? Have ye forgotten that I am your Emperor's son? If ye persist in disobedience, I shall punish you more severely than ye expect. If ye want your pay, depute, as is fitting, four unarmed men to present your request, and I will return you a fitting answer." The leaders of the mutiny had now learned that the Regent, if a boy he were, was not to be bullied, and repented of their attempt to turn his inexperience to their advantage. They sent their request in the manner he commanded, and received the small portion of their arrears, that deficient funds and the exigencies of the moment would allow.

Scarcely was this riot quelled, when a sedition, accompanied, as usual, with outrage, broke out at Andria, and thither, with the troops immediately at hand, Manfred hastened. The conscious offenders fled from the wrath they had provoked, leaving only women and children in the town. But Manfred, as wisely clement as he was energetic, sought rather to conciliate than terrify. He invited the fugitives to return, and, beyond a heavy fine, inflicted no punishment, even upon the ringleaders.

But his satisfaction, in the bloodless reduction of Andria to obedience, was early interrupted by information, that, no sooner had he quitted Foggia, than the inhabitants had begun to prepare for future rebellion, by fortifying their town. He led back his little army during the night, and at daybreak the Foggians were startled by the sight of the offended prince at the city-gate, ready to chastise their projected revolt. Their walls were of course as yet hardly rising from the ground, and they had no alternative; submission was unavoidable. The women, with dishevelled hair, and accompanied by a deputation from the magistracy, hurried forth, to throw themselves at his feet, and implore pardon. It was granted, upon condition of the

citizens destroying with their own hands the incipient wall, and paying a heavy fine; Manfred thus making the efforts to throw off his authority, the means of supplying him with those sinews of war, in which he was most deficient, viz., ready money.

Not quite so easily quelled were the disturbances at Baroli (or Barletta, for some uncertainty exists as to which was their scene). The citizens had deposed the magistrates appointed by Frederic, and elected others, to whom they committed the administration of justice and the government of the town; professedly, however, without prejudice to their loyalty to Conrad. Manfred summoned a deputation, from a town of such peculiarly, complexioned loyalty, to attend him. He seems to have deemed it prudent to take very little notice of their unlawful proceedings, but, reminding them that they had sworn allegiance to his brother, he required them, in discharge of a long established and acknowledged duty, to co-operate with him in the maintenance of the royal authority, and afford their assistance in reducing Naples and Capua, then in open rebellion, to obedience. The deputies promised faithfully to report the Regent's words to their fellow-citizens, and return with the answer. When they did so, they found, to their no small surprise and annoyance, Manfred ready to receive it within a few miles of the town, and at the head of his forces. The message with which they were charged was so vague, that, despite all reverential humility of phraseology, Manfred judged it designed only to gain time, whilst preparations might be made for resistance. He sent them back, with orders to bring him a categorical answer. But many Apulian cities, including both Baroli and Barletta had now, seduced by Innocent, formed a confederacy in emulation of the Lombard League; and the citizens, trusting to the succours of their confederates, refused to alter their answer, or to hold any further communication with the Regent.

Manfred hastened forward, but found the gates closed against him. He called upon the townsmen to open them to the representative of their King, and the reply was a flight of arrows mingled with a shower of stones. He now commanded the walls to be scaled: the troops

advanced, but recoiled from the tempest of missiles that met them; whilst some German veterans are reported to have loudly grumbled, at being ordered to storm well-defended walls by a beardless boy, reared in the lap of luxury, and sitting on his horse, aloof from danger. But, amidst these murmurs, they suddenly beheld that reprobated beardless boy—who, on seeing them fall back, had dismounted—rush forward to lead the storming party. They felt the rebuke, and no man hesitated to follow their late Emperor's gallant orphan. The walls, though stoutly defended, were scaled, and still Manfred led; Manfred was the first, who entered the town as victor. The chief punishment inflicted upon the citizens, in addition to the regular and useful fine, was the demolition of the walls that had encouraged their rebellious arrogance.<sup>(100)</sup>

In all these difficulties and dangers, the Regent had received no help from Sicily. In the beginning of the struggle he had demanded reinforcements thence, and summoned the Marshal to Apulia, that they might, in a personal interview, concert measures for maintaining the royal authority, on both sides the Faro; naming Galvano Lancia to act as Ruffo's deputy, during his brief absence. But Ruffo declared, that he could neither spare troops, nor quit his post, even for an hour, to confer with Manfred; and, at Messina, he excited such a riotous sedition against Lancia, who had landed there upon his mission, as drove him from the island. The Regent had no present means of chastising this insubordinate officer, or compelling his obedience, and for such conduct in Ruffo he was probably prepared. But grievously had he been disappointed by the failure of support from two powerful noblemen, upon whom he was well entitled to reckon as his firm friends and allies, to wit the Earls of Caserta and of Aquino, the husbands of two of the late Emperor's illegitimate daughters, Violante and Anna. These gentlemen, though they certainly did not profess themselves partisans of the Pope, joined the malcontents, loudly complaining of being ill used, as well in not having received larger portions with their wives, as in seeing their juvenile brother-in-law preferred to one of themselves, as Regent of the kingdom.

But, notwithstanding these disappointments of the help he ought to have received, Manfred's heroic gallantry, judicious measures, and rapid success, aided by that of his German officer, the Margrave of Hohenberg, who reduced Avellino simultaneously with his own conquest of Baroli or Barletta, checked the seditious spirit, that had, for a moment, seemed to be gradually pervading the kingdom. The confederated cities dissolved their League, Naples and Capua nearly alone persisting in their republican aspirations and open revolt. The Regent blockaded the first, and ravaged the territories of the second, whilst expecting the arrival of Conrad, or the means of besieging both at once.

This was Manfred's position, when the Pope's answer to his overtures reached him. It was, that, upon his delivering over Apulia and Sicily to Papal officers, taking the oath of allegiance, and doing homage to the Holy See, he, Manfred, should be individually relieved from his inherited excommunication, and the principality of Tarento should be conferred upon him. Need it be said, that he declined to purchase a part of his father's bequest, the principality of which he was in possession, by betraying the trust which his father and his brother had reposed in him? Renouncing, for the present at least, every idea of reconciliation with the inveterate pseudo-Father of Christendom, the Regent devoted his thoughts to the blockade of Naples, and looked impatiently for Conrad, to whom even the refractory Marshal of Sicily would not, he felt assured, deny obedience and reinforcements.

## CHAPTER II.

### CONRAD IV.

*Conrad in Italy—in Apulia—Innocent's Inveteracy—Innocent and Brancalone—Negotiations—Accusations and Recriminations—Conrad's Death—Affairs of Germany—William of Holland's Struggles—Affairs of Italy.* [1251—1254.]

MANFRED'S struggle, with the various difficulties surrounding him, was cheered and supported by letters from Conrad, announcing his early arrival. The young King, convinced by his brother's assurances of the urgent necessity for his presence in the Sicilies, determined to visit them; and, in the winter of the year 1251, committing the contest with the Anti-king in Germany, during his temporary absence, to his father-in-law, the Duke of Bavaria, he set forward for the South. His consort Elizabeth, being then in immediate expectation of presenting him with the first fruit of their marriage, her accompanying him was deemed too hazardous, and she likewise was left to the care and protection of her father. Little would the royal imperial pair anticipate that, for this world, their separation was final.

In December, Conrad reached Verona, where he was received by his brother-in-law Ezzelino, with the accustomed magnificent hospitality of that family, and with the most gratifying demonstrations of loyalty. Some writers have charged the Signor di Romano, with, even at this time, projecting his complete emancipation from feudal subjection to the Emperor, and acting in all his relations with Conrad, rather as the ally of a monarch, whose interests were closely involved with his own, than as a vassal. That, after Conrad's death, he entertained such schemes,

there is no doubt. They would be encouraged, if not generated, by the circumstance that the sovereign who then challenged his homage was an anti-king, set up by a detested pope, in opposition to Selvaggia's father and brother—Frederic II and Conrad IV—for the avowed purpose of destroying those imperial connexions, whose claims to his attachment and his duty he fully acknowledged. Such schemes would be ripened, by the absolute want of all supreme controlling authority, during the ensuing interregnum, which produced analogous designs in princes, inferior to Ezzelino in the means of executing them. To the Italian heir of these connexions, Manfred, who never was even King of the Romans, he owed no allegiance, but was a faithful brother and ally. No act of Ezzelino's is recorded, indicating disloyalty towards Conrad.

At Verona, Conrad had interviews with the Magistrates of the Ghibeline cities, and with Marchese Palavicino. They all represented the condition and yet more the prospects of their party in Italy, as good. Ezzelino's dominions extended from the Venetian lagoons far northward into the Tyrol, and westward to the vicinity of Milan; that city, besides being much less Guelph than usual, was, like Guelph Florence, at this time weakened by internal struggles for power between the nobles and the people; and the only piece of ill fortune, that had recently befallen the Ghibelines, was the subjugation of two or three small towns by Guelph Genoa. There was in all this nothing to shake Conrad's predetermination, not to suffer any other interest, not the most vital of Lombardy, or even of the Empire, to divert him from his present object, namely the defence of his southern patrimony against Papal usurpation. Having therefore confirmed and secured the attachment of the Ghibeline Lombard vassals of the Empire, Conrad prosecuted his journey.

But Pesaro, Fano, Fossombrone, Jesi, and Ancona, had formed a Confederation, which, if not avowedly against the young King himself, was indisputably Guelph; and, when considered in connexion with the open hostility of Bologna, and the doubtful disposition of Rome, then courting the return of the Pope, threatened all the delay,

inseparable from the necessity of forcing a passage. He resolved therefore to proceed by sea; the Venetians offered him the use of four galleys, to convey himself and his small escort;<sup>(101)</sup> and, accepting the loan, he embarked for Apulia. He landed at Siponto, where he found Manfred awaiting him.

Nothing could be more satisfactory than the meeting of the brothers; nothing could promise better. Manfred had prepared everything for the most honourable reception of the Sovereign; again, with a discretion yet more surprising at his age than his military and political skill and energy, avoiding all that could bear the most remote appearance of rivalry, or assumption of authority. The ex-Regent, in person, held his royal brother's stirrup. Conrad, on the other hand, gratified by the unexpected progress that he found made in subjugating and pacifying the kingdom, and not less so, perhaps, by the perfect propriety with which the youthful and triumphant Regent sank into his subordinate position, displayed the warmest fraternal affection for him, constantly placed him by his side,<sup>(102)</sup> and professed his determination to be guided upon all points by his advice. Together the brothers now traversed the continental portion of the realm, compelling to submission not only all minor dissatisfied nobles and cities, but even the powerful husbands of their two half-sisters; an object the more material, as much of the land upon the Garigliano, the Apulian frontier against the Papal territories, was the property of Caserta. Capua was now forced to surrender, and only Naples still persevered in rebellion.

But, amidst all this success, Conrad, like Manfred, knew the importance of a reconciliation with the Pope, if attainable; of which, never having personally given offence, he saw no reason to despair. He accordingly offered Innocent all the rights and privileges ever enjoyed by Popes in Apulia and Sicily, under his Norman ancestors; including even those wrested from the maternal anxieties of his dying grandmother, the Empress-Queen, Constance. The arrogant pontiff did not condescend to notice the proposal, but, treating Conrad as incapacitated to succeed, both by his excommunication, and by his father's deposal, acted as

sole, undisputed sovereign of the Sicilies. Lavishly he granted fiefs to his creatures, or to those whom he wished to make such, and, amongst others—Manfred having rejected his terms, to wit, the grant of Tarento in Papal vassalage—he gave that principality to one of the Frangipani, as a bribe, which would not only lure the whole family from their grateful attachment to Frederic and his posterity, but, through their conflicting claims to the possession, produce hostilities between the grantee and the actual holder. Nevertheless, when he saw how prosperously Conrad, supported and guided by Manfred, was establishing his authority, he felt that his own unaided power was insufficient to wrest the Sicilies from the lineal heir; and, abandoning, however reluctantly, the idea of incorporating this kingdom with the Estates of the Church, he looked out for a substitute vassal-king, who should be able to supply the strength in which he himself was deficient.

The Pope now proffered the crown of the Sicilies to Charles, Earl of Anjou, brother of the absent royal Crusader. Charles was most willing to accept the offered crown, how onerous soever, the conditions upon which granted, how great and perilous soever, the obstacles to be overcome, in gaining possession of the granted kingdom. He, indeed, probably saw an advantage in the King's absence; judging that he might more easily obtain the assistance he wanted from his mother, the Queen Regent. But Blanche, if something of a bigot, had no inclination to be made the blind tool of a Pope. Neither had she forgotten her eldest son's obligations to the Imperial father of the King, now to be despoiled; nor would she permit any of her other children to risk implicating France in schemes of foreign conquest, whilst their King and brother, still absent on his Crusade, involved in difficulties and dangers, might at any moment need the undivided force of the realm. She obliged Charles to refuse the proffered crown; and, when some French knights and nobles accepted the Papal pay and the spiritual indulgences promised to whoever should enlist under the banner of the Keys, she sternly said, that those, who preferred the service of the Pope to that of their own natural sovereign, the Pope might maintain; and confiscated their fiefs. The



great vassals followed the Queen's example with respect to the vavassors, and the Keys lost their charm.

Innocent's next offer was made to the opulent Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III and to the deceased Empress Isabella. Earl Richard does not appear to have felt any scruples of conscience, touching the lawfulness of such a transfer of another man's property, and of his own nephew's contingent birthright; but he clearly saw the difficulty of effecting it, and required that the Pope should take upon himself a share of the expense, giving him hostages and fortresses, as security for the fulfilment of his engagement. The Legate expressed considerable doubts of the Holy Father's acceding to such unexpected demands; and the Earl rejoined: "Then is his Holiness's gift much like saying, 'I give you the moon, you have only to reach it down.'"

This answer was most annoying to Innocent, the disappointment producing a good deal of hesitation as to his next move. He even thought of limiting his persecution of the Swabian dynasty to the two active elder sons of the late Emperor, Conrad and Manfred, and conferring the vassal kingdom upon their junior brother, Henry, the nephew of the King of England. In order to reconcile this act of clemency to the interests of his family, if not of his See, he thought of marrying the juvenile usurper to one of his own nieces. He even proceeded so far with the scheme, as to have some of the chief nobles, and the young Prince himself, sounded upon the subject. But Henry, a fine boy about twelve years old, showed little inclination to provoke a fratricidal war, and forfeit the affection of his family and friends, for the chance of being able to usurp a crown, not merely in vassalage, but in absolute slavish dependence, upon a Pope, whom he had probably been taught to abhor, as his father's bitterest enemy. His virtual tutor, Ruffo, moreover, remained loyal to Conrad, although envious of Manfred; and the Barons spurned the idea of such a marriage, as derogatory to the royal blood.

Innocent, again disappointed, abandoned this project, and proposed the Sicilian crown to the King of England, for his second son, Prince Edmund. The weak Henry III, unchecked by either conscientious scruples or prudential

considerations, snapped at the glittering bait. He at once accepted the Pope's offer, never afterwards gave the boy any name but his *Roitelet*, (may this diminutive of the regal title be Englished, Kingling?) and transmitted to the Papal Court all the money in his treasury, together with all that he could borrow of the Earl of Cornwall and other wealthy individuals, or extort, either from Jews, or, through the agency of unjust judges in the shape of fines, from his natural subjects, to be employed in despoiling the son of his late brother-in-law.

During these various inimical negotiations, Conrad had remitted neither his efforts to accomplish a reconciliation with the implacable pontiff, nor his military operations. The former have been seen unavailing, and Innocent flattered himself, that pecuniary embarrassments would insure the dispersion of the troops opposed to him. But a loan, seasonably obtained by Conrad from the merchants of Sienna, again foiled the Pope's schemes; and, in the autumn of 1252, the King, master of Capua, joined the corps encamped before Naples. This city was still obstinately defended; every assault was repulsed, and, as long as the sea was open, the land blockade was laughed at. But the Marshal of Sicily, obedient to the King as he had been the reverse to the Regent, brought his fleet to perform the service required of him; and, obstructing the port, completed the previously imperfect blockade. Famine now gradually rendered further resistance impossible; and, upon the 10th of October, 1253, Naples surrendered at discretion.

Upon entering the pertinaciously rebellious city, Conrad is, by most writers, allowed to have enforced the strictest discipline amongst his troops, and prevented individual outrage. But he assembled his councillors and judges, to deliberate concerning the punishment proper to be inflicted upon such obstinate disloyalty, as Naples had exhibited; and this was decided to be, razing the fortifications, as usual in such cases, imposing a heavy fine upon the whole population, and selecting the ringleaders of the revolt to be dealt with more severely. Of these a very few were executed, and the others banished; but no distinction was upon this occasion made betwixt clergy and

laity,<sup>(103)</sup> which from old chroniclers elicits the observation, "Conrad acted as if there were no Pope in the world." Conrad is said by these writers, to have destroyed any good effects that such moderation in punishment might have produced upon the Neapolitans, by wanton, as indiscreet, mockery; he ordered the horse in the market-place, the emblem of the city, to be bridled.<sup>(104)</sup> Some writers lay a great degree of harshness, others of cruelty, towards the vanquished Neapolitans, to his charge, which alienated the Apulians, and checked his prosperous career.<sup>(105)</sup>

Conrad had by no means forgotten, nor was he likely to be permitted to forget, that there was a Pope in the world; but, being now master of his Italian kingdom, he felt himself in a better position, and able to assume a somewhat loftier tone towards the intractable pontiff, than he had previously dared to hazard. In a letter addressed to the Cardinals, he says: "I am an orthodox Christian, and wish to put an end to these hateful dissensions with the Pope. But let not his Holiness fancy that he may venture to do whatever he pleases, or I must appeal to God, to a future Pope, to an Œcumenic Council, to the Princes of the Empire, to all kings and princes in the world; ay, and to all Christian people." This language he held, in the conviction that even Innocent must, by this time, be willing to desist from hostilities with an adversary, as successful as he was pacifically disposed; inasmuch as the Pope's position had been deteriorating during the time, though not quite in the proportion, that his own had been improving. Whilst vainly striving to acquire a kingdom, Innocent seemed more completely than before to have lost the capital of the papacy.

The Romans, after repeatedly inviting the Pope to return to the proper metropolis of Christendom, had subjoined to their last invitation, or rather summons, such menaces of coercion in case of refusal, as were by no means alluring to domiciliation amongst them. Since then, they had again changed their tone. They had re-elected Brancaleone d'Andalone sole Senator; whom his experience of their temper induced to decline the appointment, except upon his own conditions. Of these, the first was that the office should be secured to him, not for one

year, but for three years; the shortest term in which he thought anything could possibly be effected towards establishing the sovereignty of the law, and subduing the turbulence of either patricians or plebeians. Moreover, as he foresaw that in his endeavours to accomplish this great good, he must needs provoke much dangerous enmity, he required that hostages for his safety should be sent to Bologna. Both conditions were agreed to, and, when Conrad thus addressed the Cardinals, the Senator was successfully enforcing law and order, upon high and low, in republican Rome; where the Pope's authority was, henceforward, to be purely spiritual. The Romans seemed to feel the improvement in their condition, to a degree which might have been expected to give it stability.

But the advantages which the King should have derived from the change in the relative positions of the Pope and self, he forfeited by the weakness with which he allowed himself to be drawn into the snares of those who studied their own interests exclusively. Already had he thus, from hostile insinuations, imbibed distrust and jealousy of the brother to whose abilities and energy he owed his success,<sup>(106)</sup> and who, had he wished to usurp his crown or his authority, would hardly, he might have judged, have pressed him to come and take all power out of his hands. Conrad now suffered himself to be impelled, as much probably by these feelings, as by the advice of the individuals who had insidiously instilled them into him, to acts of injustice towards Manfred and his friends, alienating some previously active supporters. He thus gradually chilled the zeal of his half-brother.

The most indefatigable underminer of the Prince of Tarento's influence was the Marshal of Sicily. Upon Conrad's arrival, he had hastened over, to forestall the anticipated accusations of disobedience to the Regent, and ingratiate himself with the young King, whom he appreciated more justly, than he had his still younger brother, the ex-Regent. He easily persuaded the monarch, that he had withheld the succours demanded by Manfred, and refused to obey his summons, not at the instigation of jealousy, but simply from a strong sense of his own duty; the disturbed state of Sicily, of which the Prince of

Tarento could have no knowledge, prior to the insurrection at Messina against Lancia, having made it indispensable to keep all the forces at his disposal within the island, and to remain in person at his post. For refusing to give the Lancias possession of the domains granted them, he had likewise an excellent reason, to which he gradually induced Conrad to listen. He knew, he asserted, that the deceased Emperor had latterly discerned and disliked the grasping disposition of the Lancias, who had, since his decease, been coaxing fresh, immoderate grants, out of the Prince of Tarento's love for his mother, and consequently for her family; wherefore he had judged it best to reserve the whole matter for the decision of the King, when he should arrive. Ruffo thus so thoroughly cleared himself in Conrad's eyes, that he was created Conte di Catanzaro as the reward of his services; and now proceeded to attack Manfred himself. He dared not, indeed, impute selfish designs to the rival he sought to overthrow the brother, to whom the King vividly felt, that he owed a deep debt of gratitude; but to make the consciousness of such indebtedness—too often burdensome to ungenerous minds—galling, and to excite jealousy of that brother's popularity, was not difficult. In these machinations Ruffo had a coadjutor, who, whilst far from wishing to play into his hands, was actuated by similar motives. This was Margrave Berthold of Hohenberg, or Hochberg, a relation of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, and the commander of Frederic's German legion, who, though he had frankly cooperated with, and obeyed Manfred as Regent, and, having married a Lancia, might have been expected to take his part, was, like the Marshal, envious of the Prince's influence over the King, and hoped, by rendering him an object of jealousy, to supplant him.

Thus wrought upon, Conrad ascribed all the pecuniary difficulties that had so cramped himself in Germany, and Manfred in Apulia, to the late Emperor's inconsiderate liberality; and was persuaded that he might justifiably resume, what ought not to have been given. He announced to Manfred, as a financial scheme, calculated to prevent the recurrence of such annoyances, his intention of cancelling many of their father's latest grants, and

requested him, in fraternal kindness, to facilitate so unpopular a measure, by the voluntary surrender of his own bequest. Manfred unhesitatingly complied, when his royal brother took from him the counties of Monte, St. Angelo, Gravina, Tricarico, and Montescaglione, leaving him only his principality of Tarento; and even this he impaired, not only severing Brindisi from it, but, enforcing the late Emperor's laws against especial privileges and exemptions, such as Tarento had hitherto enjoyed, he taxed this principality like the rest of the kingdom, and sent a royal judge thither, to administer criminal justice, leaving the adjudication of civil suits only, to the Prince's tribunals. Still Manfred quietly submitted, either in loyal obedience, or from consciousness that family disunion must betray the kingdom into the Pope's hands; or, perhaps, impressed with a statesman-like conviction, of the propriety of abolishing all exceptions from the general law of the land. But his friends and kindred, who were similarly deprived of what Frederic might, perhaps, too lavishly have bestowed upon them, were less patient under what they deemed his wrongs as well as their own. The Lancias, especially, with indiscreet vehemence, resented the spoliation of the nephew in whom they gloried, and whom they had expected to see loaded with additional, well-earned honours and riches; they were, possibly, still more irritated by the high favour which they saw their personal enemy, the new Conte di Catanzaro enjoying. With imprudent vindictiveness, they gave utterance to wishes that an illness, under which Conrad was then, during the siege of Naples, labouring, might prove such as would seat *him*, who as Regent had shown himself so well fitted to govern a kingdom, upon the throne of the Norman monarchs; thus proposing to supersede Henry, the next heir, who had never given them offence. The words were of course diligently reported to the King, who instantly banished the whole Lancia family, as traitors. The exiles betook them to the court of Vatazes, whose youthful consort, Anna, being Manfred's full sister, was their kinswoman, and where, therefore, they were cordially received. But such was not the exile that Conrad, whose mind had been so skilfully imbued with hatred of his brother's maternal relations, had in-

tended. It irritated him; and he authorized Margrave Berthold to inform Vatazes, that, although the King of the Romans, of Jerusalem, and of Sicily, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, could not presume to dictate to the Emperor of Nicæa, who should or should not be entertained at his court, he must look upon such a welcome to traitors, banished for their treason, as a demonstration of hostility. This kind of conduct had begun prior to the surrender of Naples, and became more decided when that event had seemed to secure Conrad's throne.

That Manfred was deeply offended, and his affection for his royal brother cooled by this treatment of his mother's kindred, cannot be doubted, but he does not appear to have shown resentment otherwise than by withdrawing from councils, swayed by his personal enemies. And about this time Conrad, already suffering from the fever, that ultimately, proved fatal, was softened towards Manfred, by the loss of another brother. Henry the younger, whom Ruffo appears, when he obeyed his sovereign's summons, to have brought with him from Sicily, died in December, 1253, and his two, unhappily alienated, brothers were reunited by their common sorrow for this, the second family affliction, that had befallen them since the loss of their father. Their nephew Frederic, the recently appointed Duke of Austria, had preceded his youthful uncle to the tomb by a few months; dying not, as might be supposed, in Austria; struggling for his duchy, but, at his uncle's court. Conrad's genuine sorrow for young Henry's fate, appears in the very pathetic letter he wrote the lost boy's uncle, Henry of England, upon the occasion; although perfectly aware of that monarch's league with the Pope, against himself. The misfortune, that revived the King's fraternal affection for Manfred, likewise stimulated him to fresh endeavours in behalf of another brother, Enzo, whilst confidence in his present regal position encouraged him to expect success, from the liberal offers of ransom he pressed upon the Bolognese magistracy. But, although *he* had given no offence to Bologna, his proposals were as pertinaciously rejected as had been his father's.

Whilst Conrad and Manfred were mourning over the

death of their younger, and striving to effect the liberation of their elder brother, their enemies were industriously disseminating reports that the one or the other, or both conjointly, had poisoned young Henry, now, as they had their nephew Frederic, and perhaps his brother Henry, before. It may seem wasting time to investigate charges unsupported by a shadow of even presumptive proof, the only attempt at anything of the kind being by a later historian,<sup>(107)</sup> who, after stating that Conrad—Manfred he does not accuse—committed this fratricide to avoid giving his brother the vassal-kingdom bequeathed him by their father, proves his guilt by the observation, that remorse prevented his ever again smiling after Henry's death. But the extraordinary manner, in which, a few years later, when Manfred, by his splendid abilities and his success, had monopolized Guelph and Papal hatred, such accusations were accumulated upon him, must apologize for the desire to illustrate their frequent utter groundlessness, by exhibiting upon the present occasion their contradictory variety.

Conrad being at this moment the more important personage, to him were there two supposititious murders imputed by Innocent, and some contemporaneous annalists; and whilst they consider Frederic's being the son of his elder brother—legally forfeited as was that brother's birth-right—sufficient inducement for Conrad to stain his soul with his nephew's blood, a motive of anger was found for the supposed fratricide. It was accounted for, under the Pope's sanction, as is averred, by the following anecdote. Henry, when accompanying his royal brother upon a sporting excursion, was guilty of some blunder in his falconry, for which the King sharply reproved him. The Prince returned an answer so pertly petulant, that the offended monarch ordered him to be put to death. No one asserts that the deed was done upon the spot in a moment of irritation, and how effected, whether through the instrumentality of the royal boy's former guardian, Ruffo, or of one Giovanni il Moro—of whom more hereafter—whether by poison or by strangulation, are points upon which these annalists disagree. They do so likewise upon another point; to wit, whether Conrad murdered only one nephew, Frederic, leaving his younger nephew, another Henry, to



inherit whatever rights made Frederic worth murdering, or he extended the measure to Henry; concerning whom the probability seems to be, though the date of this Henry's death is very uncertain, that he survived his supposed murderer.<sup>(108)</sup> Of those who afterwards attributed these crimes to Manfred, one relates that in 1238—when he, who in 1250 was only eighteen, must have been a mere child, more precocious in guilt than even in argumentative eloquence—he poisoned both the sons of the elder Henry, then sharing their father's prison; another, that their mother sent them to their uncle's Court in 1251, why is not explained, and that Manfred then perpetrated the atrocious, as to him unprofitable, deed; and others again confine their inculpation to the murder of his elder nephew and younger brother, the last of whom certainly did stand before him in the line of succession.<sup>(109)</sup>

During all this time, negotiations with the Pope were still pending; Conrad still urgently pressing to be, at least, informed of the terms upon which a reconciliation was attainable; to which request, Innocent at length replied, by a statement of the reasons, that altogether precluded reconciliation. These were six, being as many crimes, of which he accused the King. The first, that, being excommunicated, he had heard mass, compelling priests to celebrate this holy rite in his presence, thus proving himself a heretic. The second, that he had suffered heretical doctrines to be preached amongst his partisans in Lombardy. The third, that he had poisoned his nephew Frederic. The fourth, that he had kept his brother Henry a prisoner (no hint of fratricide, which, had the Pope believed the imputation, there surely must have been—an observation equally applicable to the alleged breach of capitulation at Naples). The fifth, that he had appropriated church property, conferred benefices by his own usurped authority, and withheld them from persons lawfully therewith invested. The sixth, more vague, that he had opposed the Church; had otherwise committed such atrocities in Apulia and Sicily, as incurred the forfeiture of those Church fiefs; and had attempted much, contrary to the dignity of the Holy Roman Empire.

To these six charges, the following six answers were

returned. To the first, that the King could not acknowledge an excommunication, irregularly pronounced, without his hearing justification, and never regularly notified to him; but he had never forced a priest to officiate, though he had, as the duty of a good Christian, attended mass: and he was ready to prove himself no heretic, by a profession of his faith. To the second, that the King had always opposed heresy in Germany, and would do so in Lombardy, when he should have power to do so; but, must respectfully observe to his Holiness, that, heresy was at least as publicly taught at Milan, and in other Guelph cities, as at Verona. To the third, that superfluous and derogatory to his character and station, as was a vindication from so foul and notoriously groundless a charge, the King was ready to refute the calumny in any and every the most formal and circumstantial manner. To the fourth, that the King had never imprisoned Prince Henry, but had always loved, and honourably treated him, and would have continued so to do, had God not recalled him to himself. To the fifth, that the King had done nothing of the kind; had merely exercised his hereditary right of administering the estates of vacant benefices; and even this he was willing to resign, contenting himself with the rights enjoyed by the Kings of France and England in such matters. To the sixth, that in his hereditary kingdom the King had never wronged the Pope, or any of his own subjects, always governing according to law, and had been equally careful of the dignity of the Holy Roman Empire, which, as its legally elected sovereign, he would maintain and defend against every one. To these specific answers, Conrad added a protest against the Pope's right to call his conduct in question, as before a tribunal, and an assertion, that his known character ought to be a sufficient protection against the unsupported calumnies of individual slanderers.

These accusations, and somewhat retaliatory answers, offered little promise of a reconciliation: but immediate actual war was averted by the intervention of two great Guelph nobles, connected by marriage with Conrad. These were the Earls of Savoy and Montfort, the last of whom appears to have married a half-sister of Conrad's

mother, the offspring of Jean de Brienne's third marriage. But all that the importunity of these powerful nobles could wring from the imperious Innocent, was the delay of a few months. In compliance with their urgent and repeated prayers, he gave Conrad till the 19th of the following May, for his complete vindication, or rather his final submission.

A respite from present annoyance was the only advantage derived by Conrad from this concession. The fever that had attacked him the preceding autumn had, from his frequent relapses, assumed so alarming a character, that, his only child being an infant in arms, born since he had left Germany, the regency during this heir's long minority, was now the chief, if not the sole, object of interest amongst the royal Councillors and courtiers. There could be but two pretenders to the office, namely, the paternal uncle of the future King, the Prince of Tarento, whom the late Emperor had named to the one regency, which alone he could anticipate, and this future King's remoter maternal relation, the Margrave of Hohenberg. Berthold, it has been seen, had successfully undermined Conrad's trust in Manfred; but his policy appears to have been, not to alarm the royal invalid, by any measure, that could awaken the idea of his being in danger. He had, probably, sufficient experience of Italian antipathy to German officers, even if no longer to a German or half-German sovereign, to perceive that his appointment would, if opposed by a popular, compatriot Prince, be utterly unavailing. Therefore, with a crafty cleverness, usually esteemed more congenial to the Italian than to the Teutonic character, he sought, whilst strong in the reigning monarch's favour, to obviate the future contest that he dreaded. He courted Manfred's friendship, and, aided by the Prince's placable temperament, easily re-established some show of familiar intercourse: then, he one day inquired, professedly in confidence, whether, upon his royal brother's evidently fast-approaching dissolution, he intended to resume the regency, during his infant nephew's minority? The question did not take the Prince by surprise; he had seen through the Margrave's ambition, and marked the manœuvres by which, undermining him, he had removed an

obstacle to its gratification. Thus forewarned, and assisted by upwards of three years' experience, since his father's death had placed the helm of state in his then boyish hands, he had maturely considered the prospects of the kingdom, as affected by the impending demise of the crown. He thought that, in the actual state of the relations with the Roman See, the preservation of his little nephew's patrimony, from the grasp of the Pope, must mainly depend upon the fidelity of the German legion; and he too well knew the attachment of the legion to its compatriot Commander, the Margrave, to rely upon its fidelity in any struggle, even against a third party, if the Margrave disputed his authority. His mind being, therefore, made up, to avoid present contest, awaiting the chances of the future, he at once replied, that so arduous a task required Margrave Berthold's experience and wisdom.

Thus secure against rivalry, the Margrave had no occasion to disturb the repose of the dying King; who, upon the 21st of May, 1254, just two days after the expiration of the delay granted him by the Pope, breathed his last, in the 26th year of his age. The length and vacillations of Conrad's illness might have been supposed sufficient, young as he was, to prevent, in his case, the habitual suspicion of poison. But few indeed were those who, during the Middle Ages, ascribed the death of a king of five-and-twenty to natural causes.<sup>(110)</sup> That he was poisoned was the general opinion; the only question being as to the poisoner; the Ghibelines denouncing Innocent,<sup>(111)</sup> upon the authority, as reported, of Conrad himself, who imputed his malady to poison, administered at his instigation;<sup>(112)</sup> the Guelphs, naming Manfred. And one of these gives so circumstantial a detail of the detection of his fratricidal purpose, long prior to its perpetration, as might be calculated to gain belief, did not such detection seem, in the first place, to render the perpetration impossible; and, in the second, did not the chronicler betray an ignorance, as to the position of the principal persons, little consistent with correct knowledge of the facts. The story,<sup>(113)</sup> which is worth relating, if only as a new illustration of the perplexities besetting

mediæval history, is this. Manfred and the Margrave of Brandenburg jointly addressed letters to the King of England, in which they accused Conrad of the murder of his young brother, Henry, the English monarch's nephew, and of the intention of murdering themselves; avowed their purpose of revenging Prince Henry, and securing their own lives, by putting Conrad to death, and asked whether, in case of failure, they might rely upon an asylum in England. The messenger bearing these guilt-, danger-, and death-fraught epistles, chancing to die at Verona, his despatches fell into the hands of Marchese Palavicino, who immediately transmitted them to Conrad. He, on his part, upon reading them, banished all the friends and relations of Manfred, and surrounded him and the Margrave with spies, in the conviction that, by being constantly informed of their every movement, he might avert all mischief from their treasonable conspiracy. Finally, the Prince and the Margrave, suspecting they were betrayed, instantly, in spite of the vigilance of the spies, opened a negotiation with the royal physician, then attending the King for a slight fever, and engaged him to make away with his patient. Upon this story, the first remark is, that there was at the time no Margrave of Brandenburg in Italy; and, if it be urged that the name may be a mere verbal mistake for Hohenburg by a supercilious Italian, who could not trouble himself to distinguish one tramontane barbarian appellation from another; the second remark is, that this Margrave, being unconnected with Prince Henry, and, as Conrad's prime favourite, having, probably, more to lose than to gain by his death, was not very likely to seek the office of his accuser and murderer, especially in conjunction with his own chief rival, whom he must suppose that he had, by his machinations, made his personal enemy; the third, that Verona belonged to Ezzelino da Romano, not to Marchese Palavicino; and, finally, that the exile of the Lancias preceded the death of Prince Henry. To say nothing of spies, placed, as his only measure of defence, by a fratricide, around criminals, against whom he had evidence amply sufficient to justify their imprisonment, if not their execution; and spies, who look idly on, whilst their employer's

death is plotted, arranged, and effected, by those they are watching.

But, whether slain by poison or a fever, Conrad died; and his corse was conveyed, as that of his father had been, to Sicily; where, far from being, as averred,<sup>(114)</sup> rejected, and thrown into the sea by the Messinese, as the dust of an excommunicated enemy of the Church, the royal remains were reverently interred, and a magnificent monument was erected to the memory of Conrad, King of Sicily and of the Romans. This monument, with the church containing it, was subsequently destroyed by fire. Great as were the ensuing calamities, the death of Conrad IV can hardly be called a serious misfortune, since, though not destitute of talent and courage, he must be held a degenerate Hohenstaufe. The dissensions with the Pope would assuredly have been the same had he survived, but the abilities and energies opposed to, and long powerfully counteracting Papal aggression and intrigue, would scarcely have been the same. Conrad has been taxed with great cruelty;<sup>(115)</sup> but nothing beyond the ordinary temper of the age appears. No particular instances are commemorated, and the historian, who so taxes him, makes this accusation in reference to his other charge, namely, the alleged violation of the Neapolitan capitulation.

Material changes had taken place in Germany since Conrad had crossed the Alps. Innocent had not been so absorbed in Italian politics, as to forget that his anti-king still needed support from him; and had accordingly sought in various ways to strengthen him. He endeavoured so to do, in the first place, by a matrimonial connexion; to which end he had asked for him, successively, the hand of a Danish and of a Saxon princess. But neither King nor Duke judged the pretender to a crown, lawfully worn by another, a desirable son-in-law; and the next application was made to the Duke of Brunswick. This prince was the father of many daughters, and—notwithstanding the many years of peace and apparent amity, that, suspending transient enmity, had seemingly revived the old ties of kindred betwixt Welf and Hohenstaufen—was still, at heart, the hereditary foe of the House of Swabia; and from him William of Holland obtained a

bride. His marriage with Elizabeth of Brunswick was celebrated in January, 1252, and attended by circumstances so inauspicious, as to chill every Guelph heart. The curtains of the nuptial bed took fire, and the just wedded pair hardly escaped in their night-clothes, from the flames; in which some of their attendants perished, and William's crown and sceptre were consumed or lost. Not the crown and sceptre of Charlemagne; the proper regalia, whether or not quite so ancient, being safe in Conrad's possession; but, that *these* had been made expressly for the coronation of the Anti-king, rendered their destruction yet more personally ominous.

For awhile, however, the bridegroom's ill luck seemed to have expended itself in this disaster; for, whilst Conrad's absence left Germany more open to him, his marriage gained him some powerful partisans. The uncles of the bride, the two joint Margraves of Brandenburg, now first deserted the Imperial cause; and even the Duke of Saxony, who had refused the Anti-king his own daughter, as the new Queen's brother-in-law, felt interested in the success of so near a connexion; thus, by the month of July, the greater part of northern Germany had acknowledged William as King. In this month he held a Diet at Frankfort, which of course only his own party attended. The Diet, so constituted, pronounced that Conrad had forfeited both his duchy of Swabia and his various fiefs, by neglecting to obtain investiture of them from King William, and that his adherents had, by the same neglect, similarly forfeited their fiefs. All these forfeitures, with the exception of the duchy, which it seems to have been judged wiser to break up, the Anti-king freely distributed as rewards or as bribes; and it was upon this occasion, that the fulfilment of former promises raised the Earl of Wurtemberg to pre-eminence, above the great body of Swabian noblemen. The same penalty of forfeiture was denounced, prospectively, against all vassals failing to seek, within the year, investiture of their fiefs from William. It was even proposed to denounce the ban of the Empire against the Duke of Bavaria, Rhine-Palgrave; but he was a potent adversary, whom, already hostile enough to his son-in-law's rival, it was unadvisable further to

provoke: the majority deprecated the measure as rash. William would fain have had the Diet pass a sentence of forfeiture against the Countess of Flanders and Hainault, in whose civil war with some of her sons, he had become more a principal than an auxiliary. This family war requires a brief explanation.

Countess Margaret, born after the departure of her father, Earl Baldwin, for the Crusade that made him an Emperor, was, almost in her childhood, by the authority of her Suzerain, the French King, married to her guardian, Bouquard d'Avesnes, a nobleman of Hainault. She was the mother of three children by him when the fact, that d'Avesnes was in deacon's orders at the time of the marriage, was discovered. Joanna, enraged at having been deceived into sanctioning an illicit connexion for her sister, insisted upon the instant separation of the not really wedded couple, and the restoration of Margaret to her care; whilst she applied to ecclesiastical authority, to pronounce the nullity of the pretended marriage. This last was a matter of no difficulty; but d'Avesnes resisted the decision; whereupon Joanna imprisoned, and finally, but not till long after her sister was again a wife, beheaded him. Margaret, upon the dissolution of the bonds uniting her to d'Avesnes, was given in marriage by her sister to Guillaume de Dampierre, a French nobleman; and of this marriage three sons and two daughters were the fruit. She was a widow, when, in 1244, upon the death of Joanna without children, she succeeded to the counties of Flanders and Hainault; and immediately fierce quarrels for her heritage broke out between the offspring of her two husbands. The d'Avesnes, who had always protested against the sentence of nullity, claimed as her eldest, the Dampierres, as her only legitimate, sons, and all parties appealed to the Pope and the Emperor. Frederic II, and Innocent IV, concurrently, declared Jean d'Avesnes the rightful heir, the nullity of a marriage contracted in good faith not necessarily importing the illegitimacy of its issue. To this sentence the Dampierres would not submit, and civil war distracted the two counties. Margaret, offended by the proceedings of her elder children, which



implied a censure of her second marriage, was gradually alienated from them; though she seems to have always intended dividing her splendid principality, leaving Hainault to Jean d'Avesnes, Flanders to Guillaume de Dampierre, respectively the eldest of either of her two families. But still she inclined to favour the Dampierres, and Jean d'Avesnes strengthened himself by marrying a sister of his mother's refractory vassal, the Earl of Holland. When his brother-in-law became Anti-king, so confident did he feel in his support, that he called upon his mother, not merely to acknowledge him her heir, but instantly to abdicate in his favour. He armed to enforce his demand, and was cordially supported by the Hainaulters, as his countrymen. King William, by way of helping him, immediately required the Countess to do homage, for her Imperial fiefs, and to leave the question of succession wholly to him, as Lord Paramount. Margaret replied, that the Emperor's right of sovereignty over her dominions was doubtful; William's to be Emperor, still more so; and instead of her doing homage to him for her principalities, he must do her the hitherto omitted homage, due for the fiefs, held by the Earls of Holland under the Earls of Flanders. This was the state of the quarrel when the angry William laid it before his Diet; and easily obtained the sentence he desired, to wit, that Margaret, by her refractory conduct, had forfeited all her Imperial fiefs; of which, as an act of grace and favour, her eldest son and heir, Jean d'Avesnes, might be permitted to take immediate possession.

The haughty Countess, as might be expected, did not submit to the sentence of a Diet she deemed illegal. She retaliated by confiscating William's Flemish fiefs; and raising an army, which she next year sent, under her Dampierre sons, Guy and John (William was dead), to seize and occupy these fiefs. The projected enterprise was betrayed to those who were to have been surprised; and Jean d'Avesnes, with a Dutch army, awaited his half-brothers. When their vessels made the coast of Zealand, which was by far the most considerable of the fiefs in question, he attacked them in the midst of the operation of disembarking; and as the troops landed in small parties,

easily defeated them before the whole force could be arrayed in order of battle, making prisoners of his two brothers. The victors now thought that Margaret might, by threatening the lives of her favourite sons, be compelled to submit to William, and in person ask his pardon. But not even thus was her lofty spirit to be subdued; she refused to redeem her best-loved children at such a price, addressing her refusal to Jean d'Avesnes, who had the custody of his brothers, in words which, though scarcely an unsuitable answer to a menace of fratricide, cannot, in the nineteenth century, without great difficulty, be believed to have been, under any provocation, or in any century, those of a mother. She is averred to have written: "Not even to save my sons, will I yield! Slay thy brothers, savage hangman as thou art! Boil the one with garlic, broil the other with pepper, and devour them!"<sup>(116)</sup>

The Dampierres were neither eaten nor even slain, their value as hostages for the mother's forbearance being appreciated. Nevertheless, the wrathful matron, to purchase a champion who might both avenge their capture and rescue them, in the spring of 1254, offered Charles of Anjou the bequest of Hainault, as the price of his vanquishing her rebellious sons, the d'Avesnes, and delivering their captive brothers, the Dampierres. Charles accepted the offer, invaded Hainault, and seemed likely, without rescuing the prisoners, to possess himself of the county, earlier than the Countess intended. The Anti-king now interposed in behalf of his sister's husband; but Charles refused to give up any of his conquests; and in this posture of affairs, the news of Conrad's death arrived, to invigorate his competitor. Negotiations ensued and lasted for some time; but as this quarrel will hardly need to be again mentioned, the end, by a compromise, may be here stated. Lewis IX obliged his brother to renounce conquests to which he had no lawful claim, and Margaret, in compensation, asked a daughter of Charles's in marriage for her grandson, Robert de Dampierre, Guy's eldest son, and, as she now announced the prospective division of her dominions after her death, the future Earl of Flanders. The reciprocal demands of homage were tacitly dropped.

To return to the Frankfort Diet. As if indelibly to

brand himself and his party, the mere tools of an ambitious priest, William sent all the decrees passed by this assembly to Innocent, for his approbation and sanction. Thus laying the Imperial throne prostrate, at the foot of the Popedom! But in fact only the support of the Church could make the Anti-king aught better than a lawless rebel, at least during the life of Conrad. Innocent's approbation and sanction were of course promptly given; but not even his vigorous support could breathe vigorous life into his puppet's prosperity.

The Anti-king's father-in-law died during the sitting of the Diet, and by his will divided his duchy betwixt his two sons, thus making two insignificant Dukes, of Brunswick and of Luneberg respectively, instead of one tolerably powerful Duke of Brunswick. The gradually increasing prevalence of such divisions, dictated, in direct opposition to the spirit of feudalism, by paternal affection, was a main cause of the innumerable, ludicrously small principalities, into which the original five duchies crumbled, weakening Germany by destroying every vestige of enlarged nationality. The new Duke of Brunswick, indeed, supported by his brother, and acting in conjunction with the Earl of Holstein, his neighbour, and with the flourishing Free Imperial City, Lubeck, was well able to guard his Slavonian provinces from Abel of Denmark; whose possession of them would have been very detrimental to the interests of both Earl and town. But the support, upon which the Anti-king had reckoned from his wife's family, was prodigiously reduced by the death of her father; and still further, by the incessant feuds that arose between her connexions, the Saxon and the Brandenburg descendants of Albert the Bear, leaving them little leisure to attend to his claims upon them.

But yet more hurtful to William was the long-growing, and now great dissatisfaction of the very author of his kingship. The Archbishop of Cologne complained that the inferior prince, whom he had seated on the imperial throne, was ungrateful for the benefits conferred upon him; that his unpaid troops devoured the substance of the Cologne vassals; that this dependent parsons'-king, was more burthensome to his archiepiscopal principality

than had been the proudest Swabian Emperor. The Archbishop of Mainz, who felt that his nomination to his see had saved William from defeat and utter ruin at Oppenheim, joined loudly in these complaints. And it was rumoured, that the Cologners even ordered a house, occupied by the Anti-king, to be set on fire, at night, to get rid of him by burning him in his bed, though the Legate, who slept in the same mansion, ran the risk of sharing his fate.<sup>(117)</sup> The example of desertion set by these mighty ecclesiastical princes was quickly followed. Such disorders broke out, that at Utrecht, even in the Cathedral, William was struck on the head with a stone. His Queen was attacked, near Oderheim, by a robber-knight, named Hermann von Rittberg, seized, and obliged to ransom herself by the surrender of all her jewels to her captor. Innocent's bulls were as unavailing, as William's threats, to repress these outrages. The only efficient stand against them, was made, not in support of his authority, but in self-defence and for the protection of the makers' trade, by the Rhine League and its imitators, all staunch Ghibelines. So beneficial was the opposition offered by these Leagues to the depredations and oppressions of the robber-knights, felt to be, that the members of the associated cities steadily increased; and, how offensive and insulting soever such burgher presumption might appear to the inferior class of nobility, the great princes were evidently beginning to look upon their operations with favour.

To counterbalance this deterioration of his condition, the Anti-king gained the support of Bohemia, and about this time secured that of Austria. The distractions of that duchy—drawing Bohemia into their vortex—together with Ottocar's opposition, had long prevented Wenceslas from assisting the monarch whom he had helped to place in the hazardous position of anti-king. They now seemed to be subsiding; the Emperor Frederic's testamentary appointment of his grandson, as Duke, being generally satisfactory. But Duke Frederic had died, probably at his uncle's court, without receiving investiture. Upon his death, Conrad again claimed the duchy as a lapsed fief, and all the conflicting pretensions revived. The Duke of Bavaria limited the assistance he afforded Conrad's Lieutenant in Austria,

the Earl of Görz, to conquering for himself the provinces west of the Ens, and Görz was speedily driven out of the duchy. The partisans of Gertrude had diminished in numbers, and cooled in attachment, upon her Russian marriage, and yet more when she transferred her own and her children's rights to a foreign king. Scarcely any one acknowledged Bela's pretensions; but many of those who disowned the Hungarian, felt coldly towards her son Frederic, as a prince of Baden, whom no one knew; Margaret, therefore, whose accession promised increase of strength and power by union with Bohemia, was now the favourite candidate. In April of this same year, 1252, and prior even to the death of her son, Duke Frederic, she had been induced, very much by the influence of the Pope, to give her hand, at the age of forty-six, to Ottocar of Bohemia, who had barely seen his twenty-second birthday; and thus, to suffer herself to be brought forward as the rival of her own child. In the course of the year, Ottocar made great progress in possessing himself of the wedding portion that he had dearly purchased with his liberty; and, in 1253, Innocent, who, in 1248, had pronounced Gertrude the lawful heir, first required a solemn pledge from the King of Bohemia and his son steadily to support William, and then proclaimed Ottocar and Margaret, Duke and Duchess of Austria, commanding all Austrians to acknowledge and do homage to them. In the bull so proclaiming them, the Pope, as if in demonstration of his right thus to dispose of principalities, entitled himself Vicegerent of the true God upon this earth, presiding over the universal republic.<sup>(118)</sup>

The duchy made no objection to an authority, which, however arbitrary and usurped, was exercised conformably to the general inclination; and the only remaining difficulty related to Styria. The new Duke chose to consider this duchy as inseparably united to Austria, whilst the Estates of Styria, alleging both their original independence, and their legal severance by the late Emperor, Frederic II, exerted the elective franchise, that he had confirmed to them, and chose Henry, second son of Otho of Bavaria, and son-in-law of Bela of Hungary, for their Duke. Henry

hastened to take possession of his new duchy, and flattered himself that he might rely upon the support of his wife's father, as well as of his own. But the King of Hungary was determined to acquire something, by Gertrude's transfer of her pretensions to him; and now, despairing of Austria, invaded Styria, which was fearfully ravaged by Bavarians, Austrians, Bohemians, and Hungarians. In November, the death of Duke Otho recalled Henry to Bavaria, to assert his right, according to the testamentary dispositions of his father, either to reign jointly with his elder brother Lewis, as co-dukes, or to receive a share of the family dominions as a separate duchy. Eventually, this last was the arrangement that the brothers preferred; Lewis, as the eldest, took the palatinate of the Rhine with Upper Bavaria, and Henry was Duke of Lower Bavaria. Whilst they had been contending for their patrimony, Styria was left to be fought for by Bela and Ottocar, till, in April 1254, they likewise made peace, Ottocar leaving that duchy to the King of Hungary, and contenting himself perforce with the acquisition of Austria.

Whilst these contests were going on, the Mongols had frequently harassed Moravia; but, being in small bands, the margraviate was able to defend itself, repulsing the invaders without assistance; and Ottocar, like the Anti-king and the Imperialists, left it to its own resources.

This was the situation of Germany when Conrad's death left the Empire for the moment without a lawful Head, whether King or Emperor. This circumstance, without remedying the decided illegality of the election, which allowed William of Holland to entitle himself King of Germany and the Romans, induced a disposition to escape the anarchy and bloodshed inseparable from a double or disputed election, by acknowledging the Anti-king. The only lawful convoker of an Electoral Diet, the Archbishop of Mainz, as a patron of that Anti-king, of course convoked none. The Confederation of the Rhine, now including several Earls, at once owned him as the deceased monarch's lawful successor; and William, to whom the League transferred its civic loyalty, delighted at such an accession of strength, instantly sanctioned the

League, as an institution essential to the peace of the Empire. The example was influential and slowly followed.

In Italy, the power of the Lombard League died away during Conrad's short and troubled reign; in part, probably, from the absence of the formidable power, as a counterpoise to which it had been created; but in part, likewise, from the internal troubles of Milan, that interfered with her domination over her neighbours. In this state of Lombardy, most of the leagued cities were severally subjugated by individual powerful nobles. The intestine broils, fettering the ambition of Milan, still arose from the struggle of the city nobles to maintain their prescriptive privileges against plebeian encroachment. When Conrad passed through Lombardy, in the winter of 1251, the Guelph, Pagano, or according to some writers, Guido, della Torre, at the head of the popular party, was Lord of the city, by the title of *Anziano della Credenza*, literally, Elder of the Council of Secrecy, which might be modernized, President of the Privy Council; and savagely he tyrannized over nobles and Ghibelines, polluting the sanctity of their homes by his licentiousness. They naturally resisted his authority; and, in the course of the next year, the whole nobility, Archbishop Leo at their head, were expelled. Martino della Torre, a brother or nephew of Pagano's, next reigned supreme as Podestà, the first recorded native Podestà. He was an able man, but so was the Archbishop, who, with the nobles, again obtained admission into Milan, and recovered the ascendancy: ere long the popular party again triumphed; and thus they continued alternately to master each other, till the death of Conrad.

The Regent of Savoy, having been at war with his nephew's vassals, was now a prisoner in their hands, from which the promises of the Pope, and the personal exertions of his own brother-in-law, Cardinal Ottobuono Fiesco, were unavailing to rescue him. The Marquess of Montferrat was a minor; Palavicino, who—from an origin so poor, that one of his eyes is said to have been picked out by a cock, that found access to him, as he lay unattended

in his cradle—had, by his talents and energy, raised himself to the rank of a Marquess, and whom Conrad, in 1253, made Imperial Vicar in Lombardy, was master of several considerable cities, as Piacenza, Cremona, Tortona, &c., being Podestà in some, Signore perpetuo in others. So that the powerful and affluent Tuscan, Conte di Guido Guerra, was glad to obtain the hand of his sister: while the daily expenditure of his household, independently of the meat and wine consumed, the produce, probably, of the lands he had acquired, was estimated at 25 lb. of silver.

Ezzelino di Romano had, by this time, attained well-nigh to the height of his power. He was Lord of almost all that, subsequently, constituted the continental dominions of Venice, with the southern or Italian part of the Tyrol. But, as his power increased, his character seems gradually to have deteriorated; a desire for despotic authority keeping pace with that increase. His despotism provoked rebellions, or rather plots for the assassination of the dreaded despot, the form rebellion was apt to take in early times and in small states; whilst the severity, with which such plots, when detected, were punished, provoked new plots, till despotism became tyranny. Yet worse, perhaps, the base adulation resorted to by many, in the hope of averting suspicion or winning favour, inspired a contempt for mankind, that hardened Ezzelino's heart. And now his strict as vigorous administration of justice, especially against robbery, and his abstinence from the sensual excesses, then so prevalent, are said to have been the only good qualities left to balance the ruthlessly sanguinary cruelty, staining the once gallant, clement, magnificent, and cheerful husband, of a glorious Emperor's beautiful daughter. But Ezzelino himself appears, even upon the testimony of his enemies, to have been convinced, that his cruelty was simply inexorable justice. He held himself a second Attila, "the scourge of God;" saying: "The sins of the people call for the vengeance of Heaven, and to inflict it are we sent into the world." Again, hearing that in a satire he had been called a hawk, whom doves had made their King, he observed: "I am no hawk who devours his doves, but the father of a family, who



must clear his house of serpents, scorpions, and other noxious reptiles." He was steadily loyal to his brother-in-law, Conrad; but, after his death, persevering in the refusal to acknowledge William of Holland, and no scion of the Swabian dynasty then claiming the Empire, he felt that he had no Sovereign, and assumed independence.

## CHAPTER III.

WILLIAM—RICHARD.

*Berthold's Regency—Innocent's Hostility—Manfred's Regency—Innocent in Apulia—Manfred's Dangers—Flight—War with the Pope—Death of Innocent IV—Alexander IV—Manfred's Struggles—Success—Election.* [1254—1258.]

THE last injunctions of Conrad to Margrave Berthold, were, to announce his death without delay to the Pope; stating that, with his dying breath, he had committed, spiritually and feudally, his infant heir, the son he had never seen, to the paternal care and protection of his Holiness: even as his grandmother, the Empress-Queen Constance, had committed his father, Frederic II, to the paternal care and protection of Innocent III. These injunctions were punctually obeyed by Berthold, who had probably suggested them, in the hope of thus rendering the regency, which he at once assumed, an easier office, by disarming papal enmity. Innocent, if internally he welcomed the intelligence, that he had weaker adversaries—a babe beyond the Alps, and a regent hated by the people as a foreigner, instead of a young and active monarch—to contend with, replied to the attempt at propitiation by two acts of hostility, the one open, the other underhand. He instantly despatched missives to Germany, imperatively prohibiting a new election; yet more imperatively, any attempt to treat the child of the late excommunicated and deposed monarch, as heir to the crown; by a prodigious stretch of clemency, allowing him to inherit the duchy of Swabia and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Had Duke Otho been alive, this assumption of authority to despoil an infant would, perhaps, have been differently received. But the orphan

heir—named Conrad after his father, from whom the Italians distinguished him by their pretty diminutive, Corradino, which other nations have generally adopted under the form of Conradin—had, a few months before his father's death, lost the maternal grandfather who might have actively asserted his right to the throne of his ancestors. His two uncles were fully engrossed by their own interests, the division of their heritage between themselves, and cared not to move in their nephews' behalf. In Germany, therefore, the Pope's commands, having almost been forestalled, were obeyed. In Italy, Innocent adopted a covert line of policy. He saw the means of facilitating the eventual incorporation of the Sicilies with the Estates of the Church, in habituating both parts of the kingdom to the rule of papal officers. He accordingly replied to the Margrave, that the kingdom itself, as well as the suzerainty, appertained to the Holy See, wherefore he should both hold and govern it, as part of the Papal dominions; but that, when the child should attain to man's estate, he would show him grace and favour, relatively to his pretensions to the vassal crown, and consider what might fittingly be granted him. He added, that, as a present concession to this hypothetical claim, he would, in the oath of allegiance to the Holy See, admit the qualifying words, "Without prejudice to the possible rights of the alleged heir, Conradin." To all Christendom the Pope addressed an eulogistic statement of the extraordinary forbearance and placability displayed by the Church in these transactions.

By the forbearance and placability, such as they were, upon which Innocent thus prided himself, he accomplished his present purpose. By obviating the objection of those persons, who, whilst fully acknowledging the Papal suzerainty, asserted the son's right to succeed to his father, and his father's ancestors, he obtained, throughout the kingdom, oaths of allegiance to himself: and to secure the taking of such an oath, however qualified, was a great step towards the consummation of his schemes. His anxiety to accomplish this step was increased, by the awkwardness of his position as a temporal Prince, excluded, in that capacity, at least, from his proper capital. A sove-

reign, so situated, could not but consider any progress as a gain, cheaply purchased by temporizing.

The oath, thus qualified, was readily taken throughout Apulia; and this appearance of moderation in the Pope, combining with Italian hatred of transalpine foreigners, and consequent dislike of Berthold as Regent, produced a general leaning towards the Papal cause, or at least an inclination for Papal government, during Conradin's nonage. The Margrave, who, though unopposed by the Prince of Tarento, could not expect very cordial support from the rival he had so artfully supplanted, knew not how to forbid the taking of an oath, that reserved his ward's rights; and found his self-imposed task more irksomely difficult than he had at all anticipated. A modern Bavarian writer <sup>(119)</sup> says, that the widowed Queen Elizabeth was entreated to bring the little King to Sicily, and assume the regency during his minority. Such an invitation is not mentioned by historians in general: and, if indeed given, must have been addressed to her by her kinsman Berthold, who might think to excite Italian loyalty, by the presence and education of the baby sovereign in Italy; whilst he retained, in the mother's name, the authority, that he felt slipping from his grasp. But, whether invited or not, certainly Elizabeth never trusted her boy or herself amongst a people, who had been so little true to her consort.

Information now reached the Margrave, that the Pope was raising an army, at the head of which, a Cardinal would take possession of the kingdom, and govern it as papal Lieutenant. The Regent felt, that the almost universal dissatisfaction disabled him for the struggle which must ensue; and, by a deputation of still loyal noblemen, he offered the surrender of his arduous post, to the Prince of Tarento; pledging himself, if the Prince would undertake the office, to deliver into his hands the public treasure then in his own custody, and secure him the support of his Germans. Berthold's subsequent conduct awakens a suspicion, that his purpose, in this message, was merely, by a show of disinterestedness, to conciliate his Italian messengers; and, perhaps, obtain more vigorous assistance from Manfred. Such seems, indeed, to have been the opinion of Manfred himself; for he peremptorily refused,

spontaneously to take upon himself, amidst the evidently impending disasters, the responsibility properly resting upon the acknowledged Regent, under whose government the affairs of the kingdom had assumed so menacing an aspect. But the negotiators were in earnest, whatever their employer might be, and vehemently did they urge upon the Prince, the duty of exerting the powers, with which God had endowed him, to preserve the patrimony of his helpless, orphan nephew, and to rescue an independent kingdom, his own native country, and possible future heritage, from thralldom under an ambitious priest. The greater, the more imminent the dangers, the more should they fire one so gifted for the contest to the encounter; or would he, they asked, tamely desert his brother's child; tamely yield his own right, in case of Conradin's decease?—then currently reported; Innocent having, for the chance of thus dispiriting and disuniting the loyal, put a rumour of the kind into circulation. To such remonstrances, Manfred, naturally nothing loth, yielded. He assumed the regency, and zealously the vassals swore allegiance to Conradin, as their King, obedience to Manfred, as his representative and vicegerent during his nonage or absence; adding a distinct recognition of the Prince's right of succession, should the young King die childless. Berthold's oath pledged him to fulfil the engagements he had proffered.

Intelligence of this change quickened Innocent's movements. He named the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the 15th of August, as the last day, upon which the submission of the late, or of the present unauthorized Regent, could be accepted. The day passed without notice on their part, and he excommunicated both, pronounced their Sicilian and Apulian possessions forfeited, and commanded King William, now without a rival in Germany, to confiscate whatever fiefs or other property, might belong to either of them in that country. Upon the 5th of September he named Cardinal Fiesco his Lieutenant in Apulia, investing him with full powers to govern the realm, and even to deal with church property at his discretion. He opened a negotiation with Conte Catanzaro for the recognition of his authority in Sicily;

and he gained not a few partisans by large gifts and larger promises of fiefs, dignities, and offices. Amongst others, he renewed or confirmed his former grant of Manfred's principality of Tarento to one of the Frangipani, and of his county of Lesina, a fief of Tarento, to Borello d'Anglone. This last grantee was a person whom Frederic II had, for some offence, justly punished by the confiscation of his fiefs; who, since the Emperor's death, had insulted Manfred, by calumnies touching his birth and character, and had not only been pardoned by him, during his first brief regency, but had obtained from him the restitution of some of his justly forfeited possessions, with other grants as compensation for what he could not restore, for all which Borello proved his gratitude, by immediately joining the hostile Papal party. The Margrave, on the other hand, fulfilled none of his engagements. He kept possession of the public treasure, that he had promised the Regent, and made overtures to the Pope, for readmission into the Church.

Manfred, meanwhile, had been diligently performing his task, and traversing the kingdom in all directions, to quell every symptom of incipient insurrection. But Berthold's breach of promise thwarted all his efforts. The Germans and Saracens were the only troops upon whom he could at all rely; the former, without pay, were, he well knew, more formidable to friend than to foe, and Berthold withheld his funds. He parted with his own plate, jewels, and whatever he could sell, to supply their place; but this was a resource quickly exhausted; and, as he had apprehended, he found himself without forces to oppose the invading army, admitted into the kingdom, by a nobleman, of the name of Montenegro, through a pass, the defence of which was intrusted to him:—one main evil of the Papal claim to suzerainty, was giving a plausible colour to treason. Thus, on all sides deserted, circumvented, betrayed, even the energetic Manfred again saw no resource but negotiation; and he employed his uncle Galvano Lancia,—the family having returned upon Conrad's death—to treat with the Pope. To Innocent, possession upon any terms, was, as has been seen, the great object. He agreed, in a form so explicit, to reserve Conradin's claims for future investi-

gation, that Lancia was satisfied Manfred might submit, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Roman See, without sacrificing his nephew's rights or his own, or at all precluding himself from the subsequent assertion of them.<sup>(120)</sup> This being distinctly understood, Lancia, on the 27th of September, in his nephew's name, signed a treaty, by which he acknowledged the Pope's sovereignty; Innocent, on his part, relieving Manfred from excommunication, binding himself to restore his principality and counties, adding thereto the county of Andria, and to appoint him Lieutenant of the continental portion of the kingdom, the Abruzzi excepted, with an annual salary of 8000 ounces of gold. Manfred, when he ratified the treaty, repeated Conrad's expressions touching the committal of Conradin to the Pope, as his own grandmother, the Empress-Queen, Constance had committed his father, Frederic II, to Innocent III.

Peace being thus restored, Innocent immediately visited Apulia. Manfred met him upon the frontier, and, according to papal etiquette, led his palfrey from Ceperano to the bridge over the Garigliano. That upon this progress the Cross, borne on high before the Pope, broke from the fastenings and fell to the ground, was deemed an evil omen. At Capua, the Pope just halted, to court popularity by confirming the charters of divers towns, and repealing the taxes, which his own virulence had obliged Frederic and Conrad to impose. He there dismissed Manfred, and proceeded to Naples; where he received Margrave Berthold back into the pale of the Church, and amply rewarded his very early submission, with not only the ratification of all Conrad's grants to him and his family, but additions to them, including the adequately salaried, high office of Grand-Seneschal of both Sicily and Apulia. From Naples he announced to Ruffo the conditions upon which he would confirm the government of Sicily to him. And hence he wrote to the King of England, that, great as had been the success of his arms, he needed succours in men and money, to preserve his recovered sovereignty, and if Henry did not exert himself to furnish both, he must resume his gift, to be bestowed upon a more

efficient candidate. A strange commentary upon the reservation of Conradin's right.

Seated in the Neapolitan palace of Frederic and Conrad, with half the Apulian nobility bending in homage before him, whilst the most adverse shrank from resistance, Innocent IV might well feel exultation. His natural arrogance increased, as did the congenial arrogance, and also the ambition, of his family. His nephew, Cardinal Fiesco, had, from the moment of his entrance into the kingdom with his army, demeaned himself as though he were to be the tributary monarch; and now required from all the great vassals, not excepting even the Prince of Tarento, an oath of subjection, such as was taken to a King. Manfred remonstrated, that the postponement of the investigation of Conradin's birthright, required an equal postponement of all innovation in the oath, till that question should be decided. His representations were disregarded, and his personal treatment was consonant to such disregard. The Cardinal encouraged his uncle's courtiers to withhold, from the refractory Prince, the marks of deference due to his rank; and Manfred, even before he left Capua, found himself treated, not as the son and possible heir of a mighty Emperor, but as one of the Pope's vassals, the compeer of his household officers. In all this, the Cardinal certainly did not run counter to the Pope's intentions, but he may have advanced faster than Innocent judged expedient.

In such a posture of affairs, the one drop only was wanting to overflow the cup. It was promptly supplied. Manfred, upon receiving the renewed grant of his principality, had not disputed the Pope's sub-grant of Lesina to Borello; but he required the grantee to do homage for this Tarento fief to himself, as Prince of Tarento, and therefore his feudal superior. Borello insolently answered, that Manfred was merely his equal, the Pope being their common Lord; and sent troops to occupy his new county. The Prince appealed to the Pope, and was assured, somewhat equivocally, that his Holiness had not transferred any of the Prince's rights to Borello. Manfred's friends were enraged, and would fain have enforced his disputed



rights in arms; but the motives, that had induced him to submit, still existed; and he refused to take any violent step, unless actually unavoidable. He resolved to consult with the Margrave, who still professed friendship for him, and was now high in favour at the papal court, intending, should he, indeed, find him amicably disposed, to request his intervention. He knew that a meeting between Innocent and Berthold was appointed at Capua, whither the triumphant pontiff was returning; and, with a small escort, set forth to intercept and converse with the Margrave, then stationed at a considerable distance beyond that city, on his way thither.

The road led through a narrow pass, which, when first seen by the Prince's party, appeared to be occupied; and those sent forward to ascertain the character of the occupants, reported them to be Borello and his men. Upon Manfred's betraying some irritation at this show of hostility, one of his company, a friendly nephew of the Pope's, named Tizio, earnestly dissuaded any act of violence, which must needs injure him with the Holy Father. But even whilst he was speaking, a part of the escort had galloped forward, and Borello, whose courage kept not pace with his insolence, apprehending their intentions to be warlike, instantly fled. Whatever might have been the original purpose of this volunteer forlorn hope, so suddenly did an affray, produced, seemingly, by his flight, ensue, that a dart overtook the fugitive, slightly wounding him in the back; and before Manfred and Tizio could interfere to stay the tumult, a few of Borello's people were prisoners; the rest, like their Lord, had fled. The captives petitioned for their liberty and their horses, which were esteemed the lawful booty of the captors. The Prince, thinking, perhaps, thus to lessen the mischief caused by the indiscreet zeal of his escort, granted the petition, dismissing them with the words: "Go, warn your Lord to desist from his iniquitous folly, and, out of respect for my Lord the Pope, I will take no further notice of it."

The message never reached Borello's ears. He had sought refuge at Teano, where, whether from his vain boasting, whether disseminated by him with some ulterior, fraudulent design, or by unaccountable accident, a rumour

got into circulation that he had slain Manfred. Teano was ardently loyal to King and Regent; and the population, rising in a body, tore the supposed assassin to pieces. When intelligence of a catastrophe, seemingly so ruinous to all the Prince's hopes, reached the travellers, Tizio hastily left his friend, trusting to forestall misrepresentation, by being the first to announce, and truthfully relate, the disaster, to the Pope. Manfred prosecuted his journey and original purpose.

His direct way was by Capua, which, as Innocent, he knew, had not yet arrived there, he thought, rashly perhaps, that he might venture to traverse. The approaching armed party, when seen from the walls, was supposed to be the Pope's; and the Cardinals there awaiting their sovereign, hastened forth from the city to receive him. A report of Borello's death had already reached them, and upon recognising the Prince of Tarento, they turned aside to deliberate, whether they should not profit by the presence of a respectable body of Papal troops, to take him prisoner. Manfred mistrusted their intentions; but he had no alternative; there was as yet no open rupture; to betray consciousness of having offended, by turning back, would have been to invite destruction; and he rode steadily forward. Presently, suspicion became apparent certainty; the city gates opened, and, in a mingled mass, equestrians and pedestrians poured forth. Manfred looked for an overpowering onset, but calmly advanced, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity; when his alarm was agreeably dissipated by the sound of music and joyous acclamations. It was the population of Capua, eagerly hurrying to make proof of new-born loyalty, by their reception of the son, brother, and uncle of their Kings, their actual Governor under the Pope.

Thus supported, the Prince rode up to the Cardinals, to offer the courteous salutation of a passing traveller, and impart the object of his journey; to wit, a visit to the Margrave of Hohenberg. He was as courteously answered, but with a coldness, indicating that the Princes of the Church meditated using their momentary superiority of force, to his injury. He left them, intending to ride swiftly through Capua, and interpose the greatest

possible distance betwixt his little band and the hostile troops; but the same display of loyal attachment that had protected him, interfered with this prudent design. The Capuans, desirous, probably, to obliterate the recollection of their former rebellion against Conrad, and unsuspecting of danger to a Prince reconciled to the Pope, and for him Governor of Apulia, were bent upon doing him honour; and, in case of a renewal of hostilities with the Pope, which Manfred must now have anticipated, their attachment was too important, to risk chilling, by apparently avoiding it. With cheerful acceptance, therefore, he met their unseasonable demonstrations. He restrained his horse's pace to that of the pedestrian multitude, escorting him with shouts and songs, to his own Capuan mansion; and there he remained, gaily exchanging expressions of goodwill, till he felt that the citizens were satisfied with his cordiality. Then, pleading public business, to the success of which a moment's further delay might be fatal, and thanking them for their loyalty to his nephew and goodwill to himself, he rode off.

Gladly he found himself without the city walls, but not yet was the danger past. The Cardinals, after wasting in deliberation the time during which the Prince was within their reach, finally ordered out troops to pursue and take him prisoner. He had not advanced many miles when he was informed that his baggage was seized and a body of horse in pursuit of him. He sent back a score of his men, by skirmishing to delay the pursuers, and steadily, though rapidly, proceeded. Presently, one of the small detachment overtook him, exclaiming: "We are all prisoners!" Unruffled, Manfred replied: "Not all since thou art free," and soon afterwards drew his rein at the foot of a narrow bridge, to regulate and superintend the passage, lest impatience to get over, should produce obstruction and delay. He was the last man who crossed. Thus, ere his pursuers had found an opportunity of attacking him at disadvantage, or made up their minds to engage hand to hand in a fair field, he had entered Acerra. Acerra was a strong town, belonging to a friendly brother-in-law. Here, therefore, despite the vicinity of Capua and Naples, he was for the moment safe. The Papal cavalry turned back disappointed.

Berthold, who about the same time reached Arienzo, a neighbouring town, expressed his full approbation of the Prince's conduct, and his satisfaction at the fate that Borello's insolence had brought upon him. He declined an interview with Manfred lest any appearance of friendly intercourse betwixt them should impair his own favour at the Papal Court, and thus lessen his power of serving him in so ticklish an affair; but promised cordially to support any negotiators Manfred might send to vindicate his conduct to Innocent.

These negotiators were, again his uncle Galvano Lancia, and another of his many brothers-in-law, Filangieri, who hastened to Capua, where the Pope had now arrived. But far from finding the promised assistant in the Margrave, they were led to suspect that the advice he pressed upon the Holy Father was, not to miss such an opportunity, as this affray and Borello's violent death offered, of freeing the country from the sole instigator of all disturbance, by making Manfred a prisoner, if he presented himself, or banishing him, if he failed to appear. The course, which the business took, was calculated to corroborate such suspicions.<sup>(121)</sup> Innocent, influenced, perhaps, by Tizio's representations, had at first treated the whole affair lightly, saying, if the Prince were not altogether blameless, there was much to palliate his offence. But, when Manfred's envoys, admitted to an audience, narrated the transaction as it had occurred, and announced the Prince's willingness to attend for its full investigation, provided he received a written, or even a verbal assurance, that his person should be safe, and the investigation conducted according to legal form, the Pope coldly replied that the Prince of Tarento should have justice: refused the requested assurance, and, finally, required Manfred to appear and plead, not before himself, but before any persons whom he should appoint to conduct the inquiry; naming Aversa, as the theatre of this judicial inquiry.

Lancia was incensed at the indignity offered to his princely nephew, in the very suggestion that he should plead before papal officers; but he was likewise alarmed. This insulting demand, combined with the refusal of a safe conduct, with various indications of a hostile disposition,

and the evident favour enjoyed by Borello's connexions, convinced both him and Filangieri, that evil designs were maturing. In person, therefore, the younger of Manfred's two deputed kinsmen bore the papal mandate to Acerra, in order to impress, upon the mind of his brother-in-law, their joint conviction of his danger, of the necessity for instant removal beyond Innocent's reach, and the utmost caution in his movements; since they were assured that a strict watch was kept upon him. Filangieri added that, the more effectually to lull suspicion, Lancia would remain at Capua, where he would insure his own safety, by professing himself a convert to the papal party, in resentment of being recklessly exposed to danger by his nephew's flight.<sup>(122)</sup>

To no light step was Manfred thus urged by his kinsmen. He saw, that the mere refusal, to vindicate himself in the manner prescribed, was a virtual disclaimer of the Pope's authority; but he likewise saw, that not only was the present, probably, the last moment at which it would be in his power to assert his nephew's right to the crown, but, that his own liberty, if not his life, might be forfeited, if he shrank from the risk. He was, moreover, confident of finding determined enemies to Papal sovereignty, in the priestly Apulian Saracens. Thus environed by perils, he promptly decided upon choosing that, which offered a chance of triumph, and, even in case of failure, insured a glorious, instead of an ignominious end.

Manfred's first object was, therefore, to surround himself with Saracens; and the first step towards such a position, was to avert suspicion, by apparent, implicit submission. To effect this, he sent part of his household to Aversa, to make all preparation for his sojourn there, whilst he secretly despatched a letter to the Commandant of Luceria, to inquire whether, in that Saracen stronghold, he might rely upon protection and support. This Commandant was the already mentioned Giovanni il Moro, the lowest of those humbly born, whom, for distinguished abilities of various kinds, Frederic II had raised to official importance. He was the illegitimate and deformed, but highly talented, offspring, of a Negro slave girl. Both Manfred and Conrad, like their father, had employed him,

the late King making him Commandant of Luceria, where he had latterly assumed almost independent authority. Il Moro answered Manfred's inquiries by professions of unbounded devotion to his benefactor's son; and within the walls of Luceria, at whatever hazard, Manfred determined to shelter himself, and proclaim Conradin.

That hazard was not small, for the road from Acerra thither, if passing near some possessions of his own and of his partisans, traversed the very heart of those of the Hohenbergs, whom he now believed to be his enemies. But, two brothers of the ever loyal Capece family, who, from their estates lying in that district, had, amidst the pleasures of the chase, become intimately acquainted with its topography, undertook to pilot him safely, through all the dangers of this part of his journey. Under their guidance, Manfred, mounting with very few attendants, left Acerra at midnight; and, so romantically perilous was this decisive step, that, like the important results of the somewhat minute, but thronging occurrences of the single month, that had elapsed since the Pope's entrance into Apulia, it may be presumed to excuse an, otherwise disproportionate, circumstantiality of detail.

At first, trusting to the protection of darkness, the little party ventured to keep the high road, even taking their way along the one narrow street of the small Hohenberg town of Manliano. Their horses' hoofs disturbing the nocturnal repose, they heard the awakened inhabitants, asking each other from their windows, what these belated travellers could be, and whether, notwithstanding the professed peace, they ought not to arrest them, as, perhaps, the Margrave's enemies. But, whilst they, like the Cardinals at Capua, were deliberating, their proposed captives had left Manliano far behind. They were already approaching Monforte, a castle bestowed by Conrad upon Berthold's brother, Margrave Lewis. The Capece deemed the garrison adversaries not to be encountered, and, shunning their vicinity, turned aside into the recesses of the Apennines. The fugitives now traversed the mountains, by ascents and descents so abruptly steep, that every man, dismounting, carefully led his horse, along

paths, sometimes following or crossing the sharp ridge, and sometimes clinging, half-way up, to the precipitous side of the ravine, so narrow as barely to afford foothold, whilst on the one hand, a wall of rock towered above, on the other, the abyss yawned below. The moonbeams, as they fitfully broke through the clouds, seemed rather to enhance the terrors of the difficulties they revealed, than to show how they might be avoided or overcome. The sounds were appalling, as the sights. The roar of the waterfalls, the howling of the wind, pent in the gorges of the mountain, and the cries of the birds of prey, startled from sleep by this unwonted intrusion into their scarcely disputed domains, bewildered the travellers.

But these were risks which the Capece, from their own experience, averred superable by care and courage, and Manfred followed them with confidence. They found themselves in jeopardy of a different, and more alarming description when, at daybreak, they reached a second Hohenberg fortress, Mercogliano, which, for some unexplained reason, it was judged advisable to ride through. To the question, "Who were they?" put to them at the gate, they boldly answered: "Margrave Berthold's men, riding upon his business." The statement was doubted, the gate remained shut, and the constituted authorities of Mercogliano, in their turn deliberated whether the party should not be detained, until the truth or falsehood of their account of themselves was ascertained. But to them the hesitation had been ample warning; and the Capece led the way, by a path hardly practicable, along the side of the ditch, and so round the town. Here, however, man and horse had light, to see and surmount these difficulties; and again Manfred was far advanced on his road, before the deliberators had come to any determination. Again the adventurous band took to the mountains to avoid Avelino, another Hohenberg fortress; but, under the cheerful rays of the sun, that displayed, with the obstacles half blocking the mountain paths, the means of extrication, they rode gaily through defiles and perils, such as had depressed them amidst night and darkness. Wearied and exhausted, but delighted to have achieved thus much of

their arduous enterprise, they by noon reached Atripalde, a Capece castle, then jointly tenanted by the families of the two brothers.

Joyfully the noble ladies welcomed their lords and their princely guest, and would fain have detained them. But Atripalde lay too near the Hohenberg domains, and, after a few hours of needful rest and refreshment, the adventurous journey was resumed. Not till he reached Nusco, a fortress belonging to the Conte di Acerra, did Manfred feel any security from pursuit. At Nusco, therefore, he slept the second night of his perilous expedition, and made inquiry into the inclinations of the neighbourhood. They proved far from uniform. Some places professed willingness to rise, at Manfred's call, in arms for Conradin; but Melfi, the most powerful of these towns, refused to break the oath of allegiance, sworn to the Pope; and at Guardia, a town of Manfred's own, his messengers were informed by the inhabitants, that Cardinal Fiesco threatened to visit them with the Papal army on the morrow, if they did not that very day declare for the sole sovereignty of the Church; and they avowed that, though heartily loyal to their Prince, they were unable to resist, unless he were in force to protect them. Manfred saw that, when in arms, the vicinity of Nusco might afford him reinforcements, but was not the place in which to set up his nephew's standard; and he prosecuted his journey.

The direct road to Luceria was now by Ascoli, and Manfred sent to explore the temper and condition of this town. The report brought him was that—so devoted was Ascoli to the Papal cause—upon hearing of his flight from a Papal summons, the population had tumultuously risen and slain their Governor, a loyal vassal of Conradin's. The Prince's emissaries were accompanied, at their return, by a nephew of the murdered Governor, who proposed surprising the town amidst the disorder, consequent upon the crime just perpetrated there. The proposal was approved; and the eager young man preceded the little troop now materially increased in numbers, to ascertain the possibility of reaching the gates undiscovered. But he quickly came back with the mortifying intelligence, that a



third Hohenberg, Margrave Otho, had, during this brief interval, appeared with 500 horse at Corneto, near Ascoli, whither he was invited by the mutineers. Manfred could not dream of encountering such a force, and instead of surprising Ascoli, was again obliged to consult his safety by quitting the direct road to Luceria, and throwing himself into the mountains.

At Lavello and Venosa, he was received as rightful mesne lord and Prince, but, at the latter place, was met by two very annoying pieces of information. The one, that Melfi having invited or commanded this town to join a confederation in support of the Pope, Venosa, being utterly unable to cope with its potent inviter, had perforce complied, with reservation of the Prince of Tarento's rights; a condition testifying the faithful attachment of the citizens, but insufficient to render it a safe resting place for Manfred. The other, that il Moro was gone to Capua, as he gave out, to promote Manfred's interests, but, as was suspected, to ask Luceria and its dependencies for himself as a fief of the Church; and had required from Marchisio, whom he had named Lieutenant-Governor during his absence, an oath not to receive any one, not even the Prince-Regent in person, into the town, whilst he held the command. This was embarrassing, since, in the position in which he found himself, to win Luceria by the sword was out of the question; whilst only if supported by the Saracens, durst he hope to break the Papal yoke. Pausing, he sent forward confidential attendants, to sound the inhabitants of the town, and ascertain their sentiments touching the respective sovereignties of Conradin or Innocent. His messengers brought back urgent entreaties that the Prince-Regent would hasten to Luceria, where the faithful Saracens would spare neither blood nor purse, in the cause of their late gracious and beloved Emperor's son and grandson.

Manfred felt no hesitation as to complying with this call, but much as to the mode of so doing. The question was, should he seek to insure his safe passage between the now papal Ascoli and Foggia, where Margrave Otho was stationed, by numbers, or by eluding observation? All his friends strenuously advised the first course; but how,

without ruinous delay, could a troop adequate to cope with Otho's in the field, be collected? Manfred saw that this was one of the occasions where seeming temerity is real prudence. He adopted the second plan, but kept his resolution to himself.

With the utmost care and secrecy he prepared for this, the most hazardous part of his adventurous attempt. Guarding alike against indiscretion and treachery, he concealed his design from his most trusted friends, with the exception of three, whom he had selected as his companions; and to do this the more effectually, he issued orders for a movement, in an opposite direction, next morning. He spent the remainder of the day in business, and towards evening of the 1st of November, mounted with the chosen three, as if for a short ride. But scarcely had they passed the town gates, when they were overtaken by a small band of his followers, who would not permit their Prince to venture outside of the walls unescorted. Their officious zeal baffled the one or the other of Manfred's precautions; if he took them with him, his augmented numbers might attract the notice he shunned; if he sent them back, he must tell them why, and thus risk the premature disclosure of his project. This he judged to be the greater evil of the two; and he accepted their escort, trusting to his proposed avoidance of public roads for escaping observation.

As one of his three companions, he had taken Adenolfo Pardo, the Head of his father's hunting establishment in these parts. Adenolfo, familiarly acquainted with the mountains, amidst whose ravines and recesses he had so often followed the Imperial hawks and hounds, had boldly undertaken to conduct him to Luceria by mountain tracks where no enemy was to be feared. And as long as the faintest twilight enabled him to discern the accustomed landmarks, he led the way steadily and securely through difficulties similar to those which Manfred had surmounted under the guidance of the Capeci. But night closed in, the clouds gathered, and presently the rain poured down with the violence of southern storms. The mountain brooks, swelling to torrents, obstructed or actually washed away their precipitous paths, and the

obscurity became so intense, that, only by incessant shouting to each other, could the entire dispersion of the little company be averted. Adenolfo himself was now bewildered, and they rode on, in utter uncertainty of their direction, upon the correctness of which everything depended. At length a flash of lightning revealed the distant glimmer of something white; pronounced by Adenolfo to be one of the late Emperor's hunting lodges. But which? Several were scattered through the district, and one lay near to Foggia. At all risks Adenolfo rode up, when it proved to be that situated in the direction of St. Agapito, and occupied by a loyal old forester. They had strayed but little from their proper course, and gladly the drenched and weary party sought momentary shelter under a friendly roof.

Long before dawn, however, they remounted, and, when near Luceria, Manfred dismissed his unintended escort, bidding them repair to Bibiano, a town of his own not far distant, whence, if successful, he would presently summon them, where, if unsuccessful, he would join them. Then, with his three, originally selected companions, he rode up to the gate of Luceria, which he reached about daybreak. The gate being of course shut, the Prince of Tarento announced himself, and demanded admittance.

The Saracens, probably, expected him to appear at the head of an army, and the guard at the gate could, at first, hardly be persuaded that an individual, presenting himself in such humble guise, was really the son of the Emperor, twice the Regent, and now the deputed Governor, of the kingdom. But, when Manfred was recognised by warriors who had fought under his banner, they welcomed him with joyous shouts, and were about sending to Marchisio for the keys, that they might admit him. Their eagerness was checked by a more thoughtful veteran, who observed: "Marchisio having sworn not to admit any one, will not give the keys; the Prince must be in Luceria, before Marchisio knows of his coming; he must be introduced without keys, and, once amongst us, all difficulty is over." This last assertion none disputed; but how was the Prince to come amongst them if the gates were not opened. The prudent as faithful greybeard, pointed to the mouth of a

drain immediately without the wall, and implored his Prince, with so great an object as breaking the yoke of an usurping, tyrannical priest, in view, not to shrink from the seeming indignity of passing through the drain, since what really mattered was, that he should be in Luceria, not how he should enter.

Manfred would not be baffled in an important enterprise, by any superable obstacle, however momentarily revolting the means of surmounting it to his pride or his delicacy. He alighted and approached the designated spot. But the loyal zeal of the Saracens, whose numbers were every instant increasing, as the news of his presence spread through the town, blazed out at the sight. With one accord they cried, "Never may we suffer our Prince thus to debase himself! Break down the gate, and bring him in, as beseems our Emperor's son!" So said, so done. The soldiers, of whom a considerable body had now assembled, burst the gate open, rushed out, and lifting Manfred on to their shoulders, bore him thus triumphantly into the town. Thus triumphantly, they paraded him through the streets, whilst men, women, and children thronged around, to see, touch, and greet him, till he was well nigh smothered with pure love.

The uproar had by this time awakened Marchisio, and although confounded at the report of Manfred's actual presence in Luceria, whilst the keys of the well-secured gates were safe in his custody, he armed, mounted, and sallied forth to meet and expel the intruder. But quickly did he find himself, on the contrary, coerced into affecting sentiments, in unison with those on all sides so clamorously and so unanimously proclaimed. The tumultuous crowd encircling Manfred, loudly commanded him to alight, and kneel in homage to their beloved Prince-Regent; and Marchisio, helpless in their hands, promptly obeyed.<sup>(123)</sup>

Manfred was now installed in the Imperial Palace, from a window of which he forthwith addressed the people. He related Borello's rebellious insolence and accidental end; he told of the Pope's usurping pretensions; and announced his own determination to maintain the indisputable hereditary right of his nephew, as also his own, together

with the rights and liberties of the kingdom. And unanimously the Lucerians swore to be true to him, against the whole world.

By the time he felt himself in secure possession of a strong, well-garrisoned fortress, he was informed that Margrave Otho, at the head of a body of troops, was before one of the gates, demanding possession of the town, as Governor for the Pope, whose sovereignty he called upon the inhabitants to acknowledge. That he was authorized by Il Moso to claim Marchisio's compliance, is not stated, but seems likely, as he was only attended by a troop, so utterly inadequate to compelling Luceria to obedience, that he shrank even from the battle, eagerly offered him without the walls by the Saracens; evading the challenge by a retreat, so precipitate as to resemble flight.

At Luceria, Manfred found, besides a numerous body of warriors, attached as brave, military stores of all kinds, and a well-filled treasury; the known strength of the place, and the approved fidelity of the Saracen garrison and inhabitants having rendered it a favourite repository of the Sovereign's valuables, money included. Frederic II and Conrad, as well as Il Moro, had there secured their exchequers. He was now, therefore, in a condition to offer the German legion pay, and generally to raise mercenary troops, in addition to those, whom a pure spirit of loyalty, or of patriotism, might bring to the standard of their hereditary King. His reputation for daring heroism had rendered him so favourite a leader with all martial spirits, —though such favour, as he had painfully learned, was no substitute for pay—that, as soon as he was known to have full coffers, his ranks were thronged. Many Germans, even from the legion then constituting, under the Hohenberg brothers, the strength of the Papal army, as well as others who were preying as marauders, upon all parties, hastened to engage in his service.

Cardinal Fiesco's want of military talent left the Prince of Tarento leisure thus to prepare for the impending conflict; and Berthold, in his anxiety to keep well with both sides, so that, whoever carried the day his immense estates might be secure, actually facilitated these preparations. Repairing to Foggia, there, as he thought, to join his

brother, he found, not Otho resolutely defending it—for he, continuing his retreat, had evacuated the town—but, the magistrates busied in assessing and levying the contributions, required by Manfred. The Margrave, betraying neither disappointment nor surprise, as though this state of affairs had been precisely what he expected, officiously assisted in completing the operation, and sent the Prince of Tarento a friendly proffer of his services, as mediator in negotiating his reconciliation with the Pope. To Manfred a negotiation could not but be profitable, since, if it failed to produce the object of his desires, *i. e.*, the recognition of Conradin as King of the Sicilies by Innocent, it must at least afford himself, more time for gathering strength, and he thankfully accepted the proffer. This delay was the only advantage he derived from it.

The Cardinal had, like him, been occupied in recruiting his force; the means he employed being the preaching of a crusade against Manfred, with all crusading indulgences to those who should engage in this misnamed holy war. The measure was, as usual, temporarily successful; and, in the pride of conscious superiority, he now advanced to Troja; whence he ordered Margrave Otho again to occupy and fortify Foggia. He thought thus to shut up Manfred in Luceria; but the opportunity for so doing, if it ever existed, was past. The Prince, on the other hand, resolved to engage his enemies separately, and to begin with the weakest by attacking Foggia, before Otho could have made much progress in the task of fortification enjoined him.

Upon the 2nd of December, Otho, unsuspecting of the immediate vicinity of an enemy, led a considerable body of his men out of the town, fell into an ambuscade, and, thus surprised, was quickly overpowered and routed. His troops fled in all directions, he himself taking the road to Canosa. Scarcely had some of the fugitives brought the news of their disaster to Foggia, when their pursuers were already storming the unfinished works, on one side, and a detachment, previously sent round by Manfred for the purpose, doing the same on the other. Confusion prevented even a thought of resistance; the town was taken, and such of the garrison, as did not, with the priests, seek

a refuge in the castle, were made prisoners. As Manfred had no intention, whilst anticipating a decisive action with the Cardinal, still far superior to himself in numbers, of weakening his own army by putting a garrison into Foggia, he did not attempt the castle; but content to have attained his end, in dispersing one division of the enemy, returned to Luceria in the evening.

But the victory over Otho, which Manfred had considered as merely preliminary to his great battle with the Cardinal proved, very unexpectedly, to be itself the decisive action. When known at Troja, every bosom was filled with dismay. Fiesco immediately issued orders for a nocturnal retreat; obeyed as, by half disciplined troops, like his panic-stricken crusaders, such orders commonly are. Whoever could procure a horse, saddled or unsaddled, galloped off. Of those who marched out of the town with some appearance of military form, many threw away both arms and baggage upon the road, by thus lightening themselves to expedite their arrival at some place of shelter; and, long before the leaders and the more soldierly portion of the Papal army reached their first appointed halt, the bulk of the forces had disappeared.

At Luceria, next morning, Manfred was preparing to march forth, for the purpose of risking a decisive battle with his supposed formidable antagonist, when a deputation from Troja solicited an audience. Their welcome tidings were, of that antagonist's retreat: of the town's instant declaration, in favour of Conradin as King, and himself as Regent; and, further, of the town's example having been promptly followed by the Papal Commandant and garrison of the castle. The garrison of the castle of Foggia fled upon hearing what had occurred at Troja, and thus, in one day, both towns were Manfred's.

These reverses fell like a thunderbolt upon Innocent, even as he was exulting in the full success of all his projects: and he lacked the firm nerve to support them, perhaps because he lacked the honesty, of that one amongst his predecessors, whom in his hard, aggressive ambition, he most resembled, Gregory VII. A violent illness ensued, which shortly proved fatal; and the few sayings, recorded of his deathbed, mark this difference between

him and that predecessor, who died boldly asserting the rectitude both of his motives and of his conduct.<sup>(124)</sup> Innocent IV, on the contrary, betrayed a consciousness of guilt in some measure resembling remorse, saying with heavy sighs: "Lord God, for mine unrighteousness hast thou thus smitten me!" And, in a less Christian mood, he is reported to have thus rebuked, the noisy lamentations of his kindred: "What are ye clamouring for, wretches that you are? Do I not leave you all rich?" He expired at Naples, on the 13th of December, 1254, the fourth anniversary, it was observed, of the Emperor Frederic's death, and in the palace of Pietro delle Vigne; one of his victims, assuredly, in whatever way, whether by corrupting or by calumniating him, he wrought his destruction.

Innocent IV's patronage of, and proficiency in, learning have been already noticed, and it may suffice here to observe, that, from his *Work, Commentaries upon the DILETTANTS*, he was entitled Monarch of Law, Lord of Canonists, a light of spiritual law, and a father and instrument of truth. But, from the rapacity generated by schemes originating in inordinate ambition, he tyrannized over the impoverished clergy, and carried every abuse connected with the popedom—many of which he first devised—well nigh to their culminating point. He is even accused of proposing to an English monastery, to divide the income of a living in the gift of the Abbot, leaving the flock pastorless. In short, notwithstanding his indisputably great abilities, such was his maladministration of the pontificate, that he alienated half Germany, and even the Franciscan Salimbeni quotes, as just, the following epigram, untranslatable as a play upon words:

*Curia Romana non curat ovem sine lana ;  
Mus fit elephas, fasque nefas, de Simeone Cephas.*<sup>(125)</sup>

One truly pontifical act of this, generally speaking, very unapostolic Pope is, however, recorded, and must not be omitted. The conquered Prussians appealed to him, A.D. 1249, against the oppressive tyranny of the Marian Knights, who enslaved their proselytes; and with the



weapons of the Church he compelled the Order to assure to every genuine convert, personal liberty and possession of his property.

The Cardinals, stunned by such an accumulation of calamities, would fain have abandoned all schemes of conquest, and fled to Rome. But Innocent's Podestà of Naples, Tavernario, was of a bolder spirit; he closed the gates of the city, thus compelling them to form a Conclave; and there detained them, in a sort of honourable captivity, till, on Christmas day, they gave the Church a new Head. Their choice fell upon Cardinal Rinaldo, of the Segni family; a nephew of Gregory IX, who took the name of Alexander IV. He is generally represented as a very learned Theologian, of cheerful temper and pleasing manners, but avaricious, and easily swayed by flatterers.<sup>(126)</sup> Alexander IV, upon assuming his high, as holy office, announced his intention of carrying out all his predecessor's schemes; whilst, in his conduct, he discovered all the unscrupulous ambition of Innocent IV, although neither his great talents nor his inflexible resolution.

Whilst the election was pending, Giovanni il Moro reaped the due reward of his disloyalty. Casually meeting some of his former troops at Acerenza, he was instantly slain by the indignant Saracens, who set his head up, over one of the town gates, as a warning to traitors.<sup>(127)</sup> By his death, the strong castles and ample domains, granted him by the late Emperor and his son Conrad, and garrisoned by Saracens, fell into Manfred's hands. And now, city after city was taken, by the hourly increasing royal army, or spontaneously proclaimed Conradin King, Manfred Regent. Promptly was the Prince of Tarento master of the central provinces; and, to complete his satisfaction, he was joined by his uncle Galvano Lancia, who, though his dissimulation had saved him from ill usage, had been too much distrusted to be able to effect his escape from the Papal court, until the rejoicings upon Alexander's election afforded the opportunity.

Manfred now received overtures from the Cardinals, more pacifically disposed than their last, or, seemingly, than their present, Head. They sent him, by two of his brothers-in-law, Acerra and Filangieri, a vague message,

implying their wish, that he would offer the new Pope congratulations upon his election, which might open the way for negotiation. Manfred, confident in his altered position, replied, that the only point, requiring negotiation, was the amount of the annual tribute to the Roman See, his nephew's right to the crown and his own to the regency, being unquestionable. This answer was deemed throwing down the gauntlet, and, upon the 2d of February, 1255, Alexander formally summoned the Prince of Tarento before his tribunal, to vindicate himself touching the murder of Borello d'Anglone, and his subsequent revolt. Manfred, at first, refused to vindicate himself in any way, save writing; but, after some hesitation, deputed Gervasio di Martino and Goffredo di Cosenza to plead, or treat, as should seem opportune, in his name. He refused to suspend hostilities during this inquiry into his conduct; but, whilst, in compliance with the Pope's request, he evacuated the *Terra di Lavoro*, occupied himself with reducing the more remote provinces to obedience.

During all these transactions, Ruffo, now Conte di Catanzaro, had kept aloof from both parties, whilst negotiating with both. Innocent had offered him the government of Sicily, under the Church; but upon terms which he would not accept, though neither would he positively reject them. Manfred, upon setting up his standard at Luceria, had announced the fact to him, as Marshal of Sicily, upon whom he called to arm for Conradin; and this Ruffo professed eagerness to do. But, to unprincipled ambition, the crisis was seductively promising: he caballed with the towns that aspired to republican independence under the nominal sovereignty of the Pope; and represented their rebellious propensities to Manfred, as necessitating his presence, and that of his troops, in the island; and he secretly solicited of Innocent the insular kingdom, in vassalage, whilst publicly acknowledging as King, the distant boy Conradin, who could exercise no present control over him, even through a Regent, fully occupied in Apulia.

At the moment of Innocent's death, the Conte di Catanzaro seemed to have a chance of success; but his various complicated intrigues counteracted each other.

The encouragement he had given, to the aspirations of the cities, had excited them beyond all restraining prudence. Palermo declared herself a republic, under Papal suzerainty; other wealthy towns followed the tempting example; and Ruffo trembled for his own authority, when he learned that, even at Messina, so long invincibly loyal, an insurrection was in course of organization. He flew thither, invited those designated as the ringleaders to either a banquet or a conference,<sup>(128)</sup> treacherously imprisoned them, and flattered himself that he was the master. But the whole city rose upon him, forcibly released his captives, proclaimed itself a republic, and, as a great favour, permitted him to leave the island in company with the royal Governor of Messina, whom they further allowed to carry his family and his personal property away with him. Sicily was now a nest of unconnected republics; but, ere long, Palermo and Messina subjected their feebler neighbours to themselves. Alexander sent a Minorite, Ruffino da Piacenza, thither, as Papal Vicar, who for the next two years exercised some influence rather than authority over them.<sup>(129)</sup>

The Marshal, thus expelled from his government, passed over to Calabria, and, as though failure had but stimulated his ambition, strove, still professing loyalty, to raise the province against both Pope and Regent. He occupied every place of which he could possess himself, in the name of Conradin; but turned out Manfred's officers, owning no superior except the infant King. Then, finding the enterprise beyond his strength, he made overtures to the Pope, for holding his acquisitions under him. Manfred now felt the danger serious; and, suspending the operations in which he was engaged against Brindisi and Oria, detached two of his German officers, brothers, named Conrad and Bernhard Truich, with a body of troops, against Ruffo. Supported by the attachment of the Calabrians to both King and Regent, they thoroughly baffled and defeated the rebel, driving him to seek safety in flight. He got on board a small vessel, repaired to Naples, and sheltered himself in the Papal Court.

But not yet was Calabria secured. The Messinese,

proud of their triumph over Marshal, Governor, and neighbours, as of their new independence, indulged the ambition and arrogance ordinarily characterizing republics; they attempted that, in which their banished Marshal had failed, to wit, the conquest of the province facing them. Calabria, however, proved more loyal than they had imagined. The victorious brothers Truich routed and expelled the republican invaders; and, with the single exception of Reggio, Calabria now acknowledged Conradin and Manfred.

The new Pope, meanwhile, was far from supine. The negotiation with Manfred's deputies made no progress, but that with the Hohenberg brothers, all the more; and he secured them as his partisans, by not only ratifying, but extravagantly adding to, the immense grants they had obtained from Conrad, and extorted from Innocent IV. He was, nevertheless, alarmed by Manfred's success, into abandoning the scheme of incorporating the Sicilies with the Estates of the Church; and sent envoys to Bavaria, with offers to the mother and uncles of the little heir, of conferring the Sicilian crown upon him, when of due age, provided the boy were at once committed to his sole care, and sent to his court for education. This proposal seems, but too certainly, to have been a mere device for getting possession of the royal orphan, as an instrument to be used against Manfred; since, simultaneously with making this offer, Alexander revived the negotiation with Henry III, for conferring upon an English Prince that very orphan's heritage. Manfred, probably to counteract these various machinations, now requested his sister-in-law to send or bring him the young King, in order to stimulate the loyalty of his vassals, by the presence of the monarch, in whose cause they were required to shed their blood. He pledged himself, if she would trust him with the boy, to be a father to him; and likewise, whether she complied or refused, to strain every nerve for the maintenance of his nephew's birthright. He at the same time desired to have an ambassador, from the Queen-mother and the Dukes of Bavaria, resident with him, and recommended for the office their kinsman, Margrave Berthold, whom he hoped thus to gain over from the papal to the royalist side.

Some Guelph writers have asserted, that Elizabeth and her brothers always suspected Manfred (of whom they knew little, save that he was the next heir, and had once been an object of jealousy and distrust to Conrad), of designing to usurp his nephew's crown. But, however they might doubt his truth, the discovery of the Pope's double-dealing, which accidentally or intentionally was revealed to them, convinced them that, to appear, at least, as placing confidence in the uncle, was the only chance of the nephew's preserving his patrimony. Therefore, though the mother refused to risk her child amidst the convulsions of civil war, they sent the Prince of Tarento an instrument, dated April 20th, 1255, drawn up in the name of Conradin, and signed by, or more likely for, the three-year-old boy, appointing him Regent of the kingdom during the minority of the King, and guardian of the royal person, when in the Sicilies; investing him with the fullest powers of royalty, and ratifying everything he had done, or should hereafter do.<sup>(130)</sup>

The Pope's negotiations prospered better in England, than in Bavaria. Henry III again accepted for his son the vassal kingdom of Sicily, upon conditions, of which, as they never took effect, only one need cumber these pages; this one was, that an English army, duly equipped and provided, was to be in the kingdom before Michaelmas, 1256, under pain of excommunication. This treaty enabled Alexander to obtain the pecuniary supplies, of which he was so sensibly in want. He renewed Innocent's command to the clergy to mortgage church lands, if they could not otherwise raise the sums required of them for Prince Edmund's enterprise, under pain of being summoned to Rome, to answer for their delinquency; and in England these commands, backed by the royal authority, produced a considerable sum. Elsewhere they did not prove as invariably successful as the Pope had expected. Hakon Hakonson, King of Norway, who had previously declined Innocent IV's offer of the Imperial crown, when asked to enforce the demand, quietly observed, that he was bound to fight only the enemies of the Church, not all whom the Pope might have provoked.<sup>(131)</sup> But, upon the security of the King of England, Alexander could, and

did, borrow largely in Italy; and, whilst he recruited his ranks by the preaching of another crusade against Manfred, he augmented his means of hiring more efficient soldiers, by accepting money, as a full equivalent for the performance of a crusading vow, in behalf of the Holy Land. Thus provided, Alexander renewed the war with vigour. One army, under Cardinal Ubaldini, he sent into the Abruzzi, and two into Calabria: the one by land under the Archpriest of Padua, the other by sea under two chiefs, one of whom, at least, was a military man, Ruffo being joined in command with the Archbishop of Cosenza.

If the scheme of operations were the Marshal's, he had formed it without reference to the description of generals (tyros and churchmen), upon whom the execution rested. The Prince of Tarento no sooner heard of the Cardinal's advance through the Abruzzi into the Capitanato, than, raising the siege of Oria, which he had resumed, he hastened to oppose his progress. His very decided numerical superiority could not encourage his eminence singly to encounter his audacious adversary; but taking up a strong position, which he further fortified, at Frigento, he sent the Arch-priest orders to join him. Even thus reinforced he dared not stir from behind his entrenchments: whilst Manfred, who, with far inferior numbers, could not think of assaulting a well-posted and well-defended camp, took up another strong position adjacent to Ubaldini's, whence he watched the invaders. The Cardinal's timidity, thus keeping two of the three Papal armies inactive and interrupting all operations, baffled the whole plan of campaign. In Calabria, the double invasion had at first promised to be successful. Throngs of Crusaders, swelling the ranks, rendered the Papal armies fearfully large, whilst reports, craftily disseminated by Ruffo—as of a third Papal army, or a second Papal fleet, with auxiliaries, being on their way—of a body of Manfred's troops being defeated—of Manfred himself being besieged in Guardia—had scared the population from resistance. The Archbishop and the low-born Earl mastered Cozensa without opposition. But the loss of the preconcerted co-operation, by the withdrawal of the Arch-priest's forces, and the decided enmity of the Calabrians—abundantly displayed upon finding the reports

that had depressed them, false—combined with counter-reports, which Manfred's Commanders in the province, taking a leaf out of their enemy's book, disseminated in their turn, so disheartened the invaders, that they hastily re-embarked, and, being refused permission to land at Tropea, returned to Naples.

In the Capitanata, meanwhile, diplomacy had succeeded to the clash of arms. The widowed Queen, and her brother, Duke Lewis, had sent an ambassador to treat, conjointly with the Prince of Tarento, for Conradin's recognition as vassal-King, by the Pope; this ambassador put himself in communication with the Cardinal. His Eminence, influenced by Berthold, who had joined him, readily listened to these overtures; when, in order to give the Bavarian time, not merely to visit the Papal court, but also there to open the negotiation, a truce was concluded, and confirmed by oath, requiring five days' notice prior to the resumption of hostilities. Trusting to this solemn engagement, Manfred left his camp, to attend to other affairs elsewhere. Alexander IV received the Envoy courteously, but referred him back to the Cardinal, who had, he said, full powers to treat for peace, but none to conclude a temporary suspension of warlike operations; wherefore he rejected the existing truce as invalid. Upon the strength of this rejection, the Cardinal, without giving the stipulated notice, or indeed any, whatever, availed himself of Manfred's absence to seize Foggia by surprise, and threaten Luceria.

Manfred, however confounded, was not of a temper to be discouraged by the perfidy of his priestly adversary. Hastily gathering such forces as he could, upon the instant, draw round him, despite the occupation of the passes by Papal troops, he broke through all opposition, and flew to defend Luceria. Then, as corps after corps joined him, he was able to besiege the prelate in Foggia, where, the place not being adequately victualled, symptoms of scarcity soon appeared. The Margrave, who, simultaneously with the Cardinal's surprise of Foggia, had possessed himself of some towns upon the eastern coast of Apulia, soon found that, without his ecclesiastical coadjutor's co-operation, he could not hold his conquests. Evacuating them, he busied himself in preparing to free the

warlike priest; whilst he sent his Lancia wife, Iselda, to negotiate a fallacious reconciliation with her cousin, the Prince of Tarento. To Manfred, such a lessening of the number of his enemies, was most desirable; but he soon discovered, that Berthold's sole object was again to delude him; and that, whilst the wife was treating, perhaps honestly, with him, the husband was secretly collecting provisions, for the relief of Foggia. Manfred silently watched his movements, and laid an ambush upon the road, by which his convoy must proceed. Berthold in person led the escort, more numerous than the ambushed troops; but, in the nocturnal surprise, his men were taken at such disadvantage, that the escort was completely routed, the convoy, and a great number of prisoners, the Margrave included, remaining in the victors' hands.

This disaster constraining Foggia to capitulate, the Cardinal now dealt frankly with the Prince and the Bavarian Envoy. As all parties were in earnest, the difficulties seemed to have vanished. Conradin, alias Conrad II, was acknowledged as King of Sicily, in vassalage to the Holy See; and it was agreed that the whole kingdom, with the exception of the *Terra di Lavoro*, reserved by the Church, should be restored to Manfred, as Regent for the infant King; Manfred covenanting for liberty, if the Pope should not ratify the treaty, to conquer that province. The Cardinal, in execution of the treaty, withdrew into *Terra di Lavoro*.

But Alexander, at this moment, flattered himself that, through the agency of his Franciscan Vicar and the Archbishop of Messina, he had won the Sicilians to his interest. In the elation of spirit consequent upon this success, he chose to trust to the promises of one, who had shown himself so unable to fulfil his engagements, as Henry III, and rejected the peace, which he had so lately declared the Cardinal fully empowered to sign. Whether a couple of domineering republics, under Papal suzerainty, formed a proper half of the kingdom, he was pledged to give Prince Edmund, he did not trouble himself to inquire. Nor was he ever obliged to do so, for Henry, always involved in political and pecuniary embarrassments, had neither men nor money to send—his term had not yet ex-



pired, but he remained equally unable to supply them at its close. The short remainder of the year, 1255, passed in a virtual suspension of hostilities.

Manfred devoted this respite, to quieting and regulating the provinces subject to his authority. In February, 1256, he held at Barletta an assembly of the Estates of the kingdom, in which rewards were adjudged to the loyal subjects of Conradin, and condign punishment to the chief rebels. Conte Catanzaro was outlawed, and the Margraves of Hohenberg, all of whom had been made prisoners, were sentenced to death. But Manfred desired not the blood of his rivals, still less of his young Sovereign's kinsmen, if they could be otherwise rendered innocuous; and he commuted their doom to life-long imprisonment.

In the summer, the Regent, invading Terra di Lavoro with increased forces, subdued it with little difficulty. Capua freely opened her gates to him, and even Naples deserted the Pope. Alexander withdrew to the Estates of the Church, and continental Sicily was Conradin's and Manfred's. Federigo Lancia was soon afterwards as successful in the insular half. He recovered old, and gained new partisans, induced or obliged one republican town after another to swear allegiance to Conradin, defeated the Papal army, compelled even Messina to submit, and took the Papal Vicar, Friar Ruffino, prisoner. Sicily, on both sides the Faro, was now Conradin's. The Pope, indeed, at Easter, 1257, again excommunicated Manfred, again formally pronounced all his possessions forfeited. But, if the voice of rebellion were not yet quite silenced throughout the land, the Regent was substantially master, for his nephew, of the Norman portion of his heritage, and the church thunderbolt fell harmless.

But now, those whom the Regent had led to victory, conjointly with whom he had reconquered the independence of their country, began to utter aloud the probably long-cherished wish, that the Hero they knew, loved, and revered, should be their King, rather than a child, unknown to all, and growing up amongst the contemned and abhorred, tramontane barbarians. This wish daily gained strength, and in an assembly of the Estates of the realm—comprehending nobles of all degrees, prelates, and

deputies from the chief cities<sup>(132)</sup>—was energetically expressed. The speakers urged: “Manfred is the best beloved son of our great Emperor, the offspring of lawful, if unequal, wedlock, with a countrywoman of our own, and educated amongst us. Hence he has an hereditary right to the throne. As a youthful hero he has rescued the kingdom from foreign thralldom and tyranny, raising himself from the lowest depth of oppression and degradation, to princely power. This gives him an individual right to the throne. We, the Barons and Prelates of the kingdom, must not suffer our country, surrounded by difficulties and dangers, to be abandoned to uncertain chances, but must now, like our fathers of yore, place the best man at her head. This is our right of election. Then, by hereditary right, by the individual right of desert, and by our right of election, be Manfred our King.”

Manfred is said to have urged his nephew's birthright, in opposition to these gratifying arguments; but his very doing so would enhance the desire to seat him on the throne. This desire became immutable determination, upon a rumour, now again in circulation, of Conradin's death; and the only ascertained fault, imputable to Manfred upon the occasion, is, having too lightly given credence to a report, that authorized his acceding to the general wish.<sup>(133)</sup> And, in palliation of this fault, be it recollected, that neither Conrad nor Elizabeth had, by treating him with the confidence to which, then at least, he was entitled, strengthened the bonds of duty with the ties of affection. His position was analogous to his great-uncle, Philip's; and he might reasonably fear, that the attempt to reserve the throne for his nephew would enable the Pope to wrest it from both. Upon the 10th of April, 1258, at Palermo, Manfred was, with the accustomed rites and ceremonies, crowned King of Sicily and Apulia.

## CHAPTER IV.

### WILLIAM—RICHARD.

*State of Germany—Death of William—Election of Richard of Cornwall—of Alfonso of Castile—Bavarian Tragedy—German Leagues—State of Eastern Empire—of the Levant—End of Caliphate—State of Lombardy—Papal Measures—End of the Romanos.* [1254—1260.

AGAIN has unwillingness to interrupt, by extraneous incidents, the continuous narrative of a continuous struggle—in this instance the Papal struggle to wrest the Sicilies from the orphan heir—left the history of other lands in arrear. This seemed the less important, because, after the death of Conrad IV, the connexion of the Holy Roman Empire with the House of Swabia and its other dominions, if still considerable, is less intimate. Manfred, reigning in the Norman kingdom, not in virtue of his father's testamentary dispositions, but simply as elected King of Sicily, professed to hold Conradin his proper heir, in preference to any son of his own; but meanwhile advanced no pretension to the Empire. And Conradin—whose right of succession, to all the crowns of both his parents, the whole Ghibeline party deemed unquestionable—being an infant, his champions, his nearest relations included, postponed all assertion of his right, until he should be of age to head the movement. The disorders of Germany must now be brought down to the epoch of Manfred's coronation.

At the moment of Conrad IV's death, many circumstances in the condition of that country favoured Innocent IV's views; and his imperative prohibition to think of a new election, comprehending his repeated, equally

imperative command to acknowledge King William, was generally obeyed. Even the Dukes of Bavaria rejoiced that their nephew's infancy, by deferring the necessity of advancing his claims, enabled them, whilst engrossed by their own affairs and dissensions, to submit, in appearance, to the Pope's injunctions.

William thus found himself relieved from the brand of rebel and anti-king; but seems to have gained little more by his rival's death. The summons from Innocent, to receive the Imperial crown in Italy, he perforce neglected, for he had neither money for the customarily expensive coronation-progress, nor power to insure the attendance of those formidable princes whose presence, as vassals and electors, was indispensable. He remained during the year 1254, powerless and inactive in Germany, amongst princes and great vassals, who, having acknowledged him, either troubled themselves no further about him, or rejoiced in his weakness. He attempted, indeed, to assume the Emperor, though not crowned such, naming the Bishop of Spire and the Conte di Romaniola, Imperial Vicars in Italy; nominally conferring fiefs and privileges upon the Earl of Savoy; and denouncing the ban of the Empire against Ezzelino di Romano. South of the Alps his gifts, dooms, and other acts, were completely ignored.

The following year, William was wholly occupied with the affairs of his hereditary county, Holland; where he would fain have compelled the ever republican and somewhat rude Frieselanders, to receive the feudal system. Stubbornly they resisted, and the contest was obstinate. The marshy nature of their country being one of the defences upon which they relied for security, the King thought to take advantage of the winter's frost, crusting over every swamp, to subjugate them, and planned his invasion accordingly, for the close of 1255. But, the winter did not fulfil the royal expectations. Upon the 28th of the following January, hurrying forward, seemingly unattended in advance of his army, he attempted to gallop across a frozen morass; when the ice broke under his charger's feet. Horse and rider alike struggled desperately, but vainly, to extricate themselves. In this most awkward and undignified predicament, William was surprised by the

Frieselanders. He offered enormous sums for his ransom; but they, who dreamt not that, in this enswamped knight-errant, they beheld the King, or even a great nobleman, laughed at his offers as idle, and slew him.

A new election was now unavoidable, and Alexander admonished the princes, to emulate the despatch with which the Princes of the Church had given Innocent IV a successor, instead of leaving the empire destitute of a head. He at the same time warned the Archbishops, on pain of excommunication, not to suffer Conradin to be even mentioned as a candidate for the throne of his ancestors. A Head really capable of controlling the members, the Princes, who had now for years enjoyed virtual independence, were little disposed to give themselves. Hence the Swabian heir, as a child, was not undesirable; but to attain the object aimed at, without offending the Pope, would be better. An idea that the Germanic federation might dispense with a Head was thrown out; but this was also contrary to the Pope's commands, as well as to established custom. The idea was rejected as too bold; and a weak Head, dependent upon them for everything, easily controlled, and wholly unable to control them, was deemed a sufficiently satisfactory change from the powerful and energetic Swabian Emperors. But, how to insure such weakness in the selected emperor was the embarrassment, since the pride of the greater princes revolted from giving to an inferior, a petty prince, even the name of their master.<sup>(134)</sup> They shrank from renewing the mortification they had felt when required to acknowledge the late anti-king, a mere Earl of Holland, as their monarch. The remedy that occurred was, to select as emperor a foreign prince, whose other affairs must so distract his attention, as to leave Germany in fact without a sovereign.

Whilst these difficulties were under discussion, a new and most disgraceful measure was suggested; this was, in lieu of chaffering with the candidate for the crown, for privileges and prerogatives, to trust, in regard to these, to future opportunities of usurpation, and fairly to sell the empire to the best bidder, among suitable candidates; each elector putting his own price on his vote. This base idea is believed to have originated with Gerhard von Eberstein,

Archbishop of Mainz ; who, having been taken prisoner in an unjustifiable attack upon the Duke of Brunswick, had not in his exhausted coffers wherewith to ransom himself. But he, a helpless captive, could only suggest, it was Conrad von Hochstetten, or Hochstaben, Archbishop of Cologne, who carried out his suggestion. It is sad to lay unchristian ambition and shameless rapacity to the charge of the last-named prelate, who, in his enlightened patronage of the arts vied with Frederic II ; and who, if he did not actually design the splendid, still unfinished, Cathedral of Cologne, understanding, approving, and accepting, the plan of an abler architect, had, A.D. 1248, in the presence of the anti-king, William, laid the first stone. But he it likewise was, who, after placing the Earl of Holland, as his intended puppet on the throne, made anarchy permanent, by selling the empire to a foreigner. He represented to his brother-electors that all the requisites were found united in Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who had immense wealth, with which to purchase their suffrages ; together with valour and talent, sufficient to justify their choice ; whilst, being without domains or vassals in Germany, he could not attempt to coerce any prince, unless by the help of the others ; who would, moreover, be much required to England, by his extensive estates there, thus leaving the German magnates completely their own masters : and who must surely be acceptable to the Pope, both as a Crusader, and as uncle to the Prince he had selected for King of Sicily ; to the Guelphs, as a relation of the Duke of Brunswick ; whilst, to the Ghibelines, as a brother-in-law and friend of the late Emperor, he could not be unacceptable.

The scheme was cordially approved, and Archbishop Conrad despatched a confidential person to England, commissioned to propose the purchase of the empire to the Earl of Cornwall. The Earl judged this a more reasonable project than Innocent IV's offer, of a kingdom to be conquered ; a kingdom too, which he had seen thriving and happy under the lawful rulers, whilst Germany, oppressed amidst anarchy, offered a field in which much good might be done.<sup>(135)</sup> The prelate's messenger was, therefore, accompanied, on his return home, by an envoy

of the Earl's, authorized to treat with the several princes for their votes. Bargains were concluded, with the Archbishop of Cologne for 12,000 marks, with the Archbishop of Mainz for 8000, of which the Duke of Brunswick was to receive 5000, as the prelate's ransom; and for the same sum of 8000 marks with the Archbishop of Treves, the King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria,<sup>(136)</sup> and the Margraves of Brandenburg; the Dukes of Bavaria obtaining, in addition, a promise of the investiture of the duchy of Swabia, for their nephew Conradin. And here it is to be observed, that, in this dishonourable transaction, are, for the first time, found distinctly specified as Electors, those seven princes to whom the Golden Bull afterwards permanently assigned the title and high office; to wit, the three Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the Palsgrave of the Rhine—really, although the Prince who held that dignity appears under the older title of his own family—the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. And, as if to mark a change, they are stated to have consulted with the other princes, a somewhat ironical compliment after selling their votes. It is further to be observed, that the admissibility of the Duke of Bavaria's claim to two votes, one for the Rhine palatinate and one for the duchy, was, seemingly, left undecided; as immaterial, perhaps, so long as the duchy and the palatinate were held by one and the same individual. The Electoral Diet, in which the Electors were to earn the money promised them, was convoked to meet at Frankfort, in January, 1257.

But even the large sums promised by Earl Richard had not secured unanimity in his cause. Arnold von Isenberg, Archbishop of Treves, was jealous of the leading part, taken by the Archbishop of Cologne, in the business; and not less so, of his having obtained for his own voice, half as much more as his co-electors were to receive. Arnold of Treves, accordingly declared himself unsatisfied touching the Earl of Cornwall's fitness for a station so exalted as Head of the Holy Roman Empire, recommending in his stead Alfonso X, King of Castile; and that upon divers grounds. By his mother, Beatrice, the youngest daughter of the murdered King Philip, Alfonso

descended from the Swabian dynasty of Emperors; he bore the honourable surname of the Wise—the Learned, rather, then, however, deemed nearly synonymous;—and he would much more certainly be detained in Spain by the affairs of his hereditary kingdom, than Richard in England by pecuniary concerns and his brother's civil wars.

This opposing prelate was the first of the Electors to reach Frankfort, where the Duke of Saxony, bearing the conjoint proxy of his cousins, the brother Margraves of Brandenburg, and an ambassador from the King of Bohemia, successively joined him. By holding out the prospect of larger bribes, he speedily prevailed upon the new comers to adopt his views; and when the Archbishop of Cologne and Duke Lewis of Bavaria shortly afterwards presented themselves, they came attended by trains so considerable, that he as easily persuaded the Frankfort magistracy to believe their admission, *en masse*, fraught with peril to the liberties of the Free Imperial City. The offended Princes refused to separate from their escorts; and some far from satisfactory communications took place between the colleagues within, and those without the walls.

The latter party first proceeded to action; and upon Franconian soil, though not in Frankfort, they went through the forms of election. Upon the 13th of January, 1257, the Archbishop of Cologne and the Rhine-Palsgrave-Duke of Bavaria, in their own names and in that of the still captive Archbishop of Mainz, proclaimed Richard Earl of Cornwall, duly elected King of Germany and of the Romans. But Archbishop Arnold did not therefore hold himself beaten. To every elector who voted for Philip's grandson, the King of Castile, he, in the name of this royal candidate, promised 20,000 marks; and the larger sum was, by these trafficking princes, naturally preferred to the smaller. After many weeks consumed in negotiation, he, nearly three months subsequent to the election of Richard, upon the 1st of April, conjointly with the Duke of Saxony, the ambassador of the King of Bohemia, and the Margraves of Brandenburg by proxy, in the regular locality at Frankfort, elected Alfonso X of Castile, King of Germany and of the Romans.<sup>(137)</sup>

Whilst the Archbishop of Treves was still negotiating,



his Cologne rival had acted. Passing over into England with several princes and prelates of his party, he had done homage to Richard, and received handsome presents from him, together with a promise that he would hasten to Germany; as well for his coronation, as to fulfil the engagements made in his name. A deputation from the opposite party repaired something later to Castile, to inform Alfonso X of his election, and concert their future measures with him. But still the Cologner had the start of his antagonists. Whilst they were consulting in Castile, Richard presented himself in Germany, bringing with him twenty-two, or twenty-eight tons of hard cash,<sup>(138)</sup> the contents of which many of his Castilian rival's partisans, amongst others King Wenceslas, found irresistible. At Achen, upon the 13th of May, Richard was, with all the rites and ceremonies, crowned by the two Archbishops most connected with the solemnity, namely, those of Mainz—Gerard being now ransomed—and of Cologne.

Alfonso, meanwhile, accepted the offered crown upon the Archbishop's terms. He confirmed the promises made in his name, assumed the title of Emperor, and exercised—nominally at least—some rights of Imperial sovereignty, such as conferring lapsed or forfeited fiefs upon his partisans. But, as he never, formally or informally, was crowned, and never even visited Germany, he is not reckoned amongst her emperors or kings. His grants were of no avail at the time; and no attention was paid, either then or subsequently, to any of his acts as Emperor. Richard, on the contrary, was crowned King of Germany and of the Romans; and, how small soever his power, all his acts—including his renunciation, at a Nuremberg Diet, of the right, already greatly restricted by Frederic II, of interference in the marriage of heiresses—were recognised as law by his successors. Both Princes sent envoys to the Papal Court, where they strove hard to obtain the decision of the Church in favour of their respective masters. But alike in vain! Alexander would not risk offending either party, by sanctioning the pretensions of the other; and was delighted to see the German monarch incapacitated for interference with his schemes. He professed himself insufficiently informed as to the merits of the case, and

deferred his decision to a future day, distant enough to allow time for investigation.

The Pope's procrastination, combined with the selection of foreign monarchs, helped the double election to answer every object of the German Princes, and of the Roman See. Alfonso was an absolute nullity in Germany; the chief, if not the only results of his election were filling the purses of his partisans, and weakening his rival. Richard, if not quite as satisfactorily nugatory, found his authority so impaired and hampered by the existence of a rival, to whom many adhered, and was so incessantly recalled, by his own or his brother's affairs, to England, that his determination to be really a king when present, did not counterbalance his tons of coin. But, whilst several of Alfonso's original partisans gradually came over to him, Richard alienated the Dukes of Bavaria, by breaking his promise to invest Conradin with Swabia, and, like his predecessor William, claiming the duchy as a lapsed fief, through Conrad's not having done homage for it, to that insurgent against his father. Upon this question, he, however, secured the Swabian great vassals to his side, by ratifying all William's grants to them; and only a few, holding ducal household offices, remained faithful to the son and heir of their Dukes. Most of the considerable Swabian towns were, by this time, Free Imperial Cities.

But, if alienated from Richard, Bavaria was rather neutral than hostile. The power of the duchy, and the interest taken by Duke Lewis in his nephew's cause, appear to have been not a little, the one diminished, the other chilled, by the consequences of the horrible tragedy, of which the Bavarian court had recently been the theatre. Duke Lewis had, A.D. 1254, married Mary of Brabant, granddaughter, or great granddaughter to King Philip; a princess unanimously described as a model, not less of feminine virtue than of courtly propriety, and devotedly attached to her husband. The Duke's Wildgraf or Raugraf—feudal titles for the Head of the hunting establishment—Graf Conrad von Kirchberg,<sup>(139)</sup> being received into the society of the Duchess, and in the habit of playing at chess with her, one day ventured to solicit, as a mark of her favour, that she would address him in the familiar

style of the second person singular, instead of the second or third person plural; or, Sir Toby like, to "thou him;" in German, *dutzen*, in French, *tutoyer*. Mediæval social habits are too imperfectly known, to afford an accurate estimate of the degree of presumption there might be in this request; but that none, amounting to real impropriety, could be addressed to a Princess of unblemished fame, in presence of her whole court, is self evident. Hence, the probable conjecture is, that such was the style in which Princesses spoke to the great officers of their own household, as did ladies to their domestics, which would make the Wildgraf's petition, a prayer to be treated as if attached to her especial service; or if it were for more, to be marked as her accepted knight, in all honour and virtue. But, whatever the import, the Duchess appears to have deemed it presumptuous; for she made no answer, and continued to say "you" as before.

Soon afterwards, Duke Lewis took the field in a feud against the city of Augsburg, attended as usual by Kirchberg, and exposed himself so recklessly, that the Duchess, informed of his temerity, wrote to implore him to be more careful of a life in which hers was wrapt up. She learned that her entreaties were disregarded; and, when addressing a second letter to him upon the same subject, she, in her conjugal anxiety, wrote another to Graf Conrad, in which she briefly said, that, if he could prevail upon her consort to end the feud, and return home, she would grant his boon. Her messenger being unable to read, she sealed the two letters with wax of different colours, and explained to him which was for the Duke, which for the Earl. Unluckily, the man's memory was inadequate to supply the place of reading, and he delivered the wrong letter to the Duke.

The unexplained promise awakened in the husband the most insane jealousy. Having slain the blundering messenger on the spot, he galloped off to Donauwerth, where, with his widowed sister, the Empress or Queen Elizabeth, his Duchess held her court. In the evening of the 18th of January, 1256, he rushed into the castle, loudly accusing his wife of adultery. The Seneschal, who respectfully met him as he entered, he ran through the body with his

sword, as a negligent guardian of princely honour. One of the Duchess's Maids of Honour met him on the stairs, and was stabbed to the heart as a pandar to the guilt of her mistress. Four other ladies of her court he flung from the battlements, with the same vituperative exclamation. He bade a servant fetch the Duchess down to the castle yard, and there strike off her head. His imperial sister fell at his feet, imploring justice for his wife, demanding an investigation into her conduct, for the purity of which she pledged herself. In vain! He was deaf with rage, and Mary of Brabant's head fell. Then, his thirst of vengeance slaked, the Duke cooled sufficiently to explain his enfrenzied jealousy, and listen to the explanations poured upon him. His remorse was now as violent as his jealousy had been. It is said, that Duke Lewis, then barely twenty-seven years old, came forth next morning with the white hair of old age. As an expiatory penance, he built and endowed the cloister of Fürstenberg; but that his penitence was not of the kind which chastens and softens the character, teaching the necessity of self-control, is apparent from much of his subsequent conduct. One instance of this may be given from his war with Ottocar of Bohemia, when he burnt a troop of fugitive Bohemians, in the building where they had sought shelter. He seems never to have regained the love and confidence of his vassals, which his inhumanly precipitate and groundless vengeance, had forfeited. To complete the tragedy, the fate of Kirchberg must, by anticipation, be here added. Having fortunately escaped the first burst of the Duke's fury, he everywhere zealously proclaimed the innocence of the Duchess, and also of his own suit. Nevertheless, long years afterwards, Mary's son, Duke Rudolph, who appears to have inherited his father's violence, slew this champion of his mother, as the cause, however unintentionally, of her death.

The Rhine League continued to flourish, increasing in numbers and reputation throughout this period. King William had, indeed, declined the invitation to become its head, more specifically than he already was, as King; but professed much approbation of such a protective federation, to which he showed all favour. Before William's

death, the League comprised seventy cities, mostly on the Rhine, Maine, Necker, and Danube; but even the remoter Nuremberg was one. And so useful did the League prove, in repressing the marauding habits of Robber-knights and petty nobles, that the Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the Rhine-Palsgrave, and the Landgravine of Hesse, avowed themselves its protectors; many prelates and nobles, ranking next to these princes in dignity, became members; and Graf von Waldeck accepted the headship declined by the King. The Rhine League was now a more completely organized body than the Lombard League had ever been; with quarterly meetings of deputies, in a sort of Rhine-League Diet, held successively at Cologne, Mainz, Worms, and Strasburg, for the regulation of federal proceedings. Upon William's death, the League exhorted the Princes not to distract the Empire by a double election; and when Richard was elected, at once acknowledging, strenuously supported him; naturally they opposed the subsequent election of the King of Castile.

That this League acted most beneficially at the time, protecting trade, and even agriculture, by repressing the Robber-knights, there can be no question; in an historical point of view, however, it might be more memorable, if it really had given birth, in addition to its undoubted offspring of less note than itself, to the far more widely and permanently important Hanse League. But the parentage of this last seems to be traced with more certainty to an association of merchants of northern Germany, who, under the designation of *Communes Mercatores*,<sup>(140)</sup> had a factory in Gothland; and, Brunswick being a sort of emporium upon one line of traffic, between Venice and the German Ocean or the Baltic, her princes took an especial interest in this Gothland factory. And accordingly Henry the Lion had always favoured the *Communes Mercatores*, and granted them large privileges in his duchies, besides interfering in a quarrel, and compelling their island hosts to do them justice. The Hanse itself was, at the period under consideration, still in its infancy, although as early as the year 1210, incipient, in the intimate alliance then formed by Lubeck and Hamburgh, for the protection of the trade of their respective citizens. This alliance

became yet more intimate, during the Danish civil wars betwixt Eric and Abel, when, A.D. 1241, each city undertook the protection of the other's subjects; and at the epoch of the double election in Germany, a few towns upon the Baltic had sought admission into this League, as had a few more in Flanders, where the politic as haughty Margaret, favoured such federations for mutual protection. In 1252, at the petition of two deputies, a Lubecker and a Ham-burgher, she granted the juvenile Hanse considerable privileges, such as exemptions from tolls, &c., in her states.

The Westphalian League seems to have been in alliance with the Hanse; whilst the Slavonian, or, more properly the Vend towns, had an independent League of their own, of which, likewise, Lubeck was a member. But, however efficient for self-preservation, such leagues were of no avail to counteract the general anarchy. Unlike Gregory VII, who wished to hold a powerful emperor in subjection to the Papacy, Alexander IV, seemingly, exulted in the impotence to which the Popes had reduced their spiritual children, albeit that impotence had not produced obedience to the pontifical authority; papal legates appearing, amidst the continuous disorders ensuing upon the double election of absent kings, to have been ill-used by the princes upon the slightest cause of offence.

Baldwin was still struggling, almost hopelessly, to defend his Constantinopolitan empire against Vatazes. For the moment, indeed, the dissensions of the latter with the other Greek princes, and with the dreaded enemy of Latin and Greek alike, the King of Bulgaria, enabled him to preserve his crown; but it tottered upon his head.

The Mongols were tyrannizing over Russia, and harassing Poland with incursions; but they no longer threatened as far west as Germany. Their conquests were now confined to Asia, where Haithon, King of Lesser Armenia, upon the strange, though then prevalent, idea, that every enemy to the Mohammedans must needs be a friend to the Christians, if not half a proselyte, had visited the Grand Khan, Mangu, Genghis Khan's grandson, to invite his co-operation against the Moslem neighbours of Armenia. Mangu accepted the proffered alliance, and, in 1256, sent his brother Hulaku westward, who,

ravaging and devastating as he advanced, in 1258 destroyed the chief seat of the Ismaelites (otherwise the Assassins) in Irak, and presented himself before Bagdad. Why he chose to employ treachery against a city, of which he had but to walk in and take possession,—the Commander of the Faithful, who once ruled half the then known world, having then hardly troops enough to man, without attempting to defend, the walls of his one, solitary city,—is not explained; but he might be actuated by a barbarian's pride in superior craft. The idolater Hulaku thought proper to profess great reverence for the Caliph Moastasam, to whom he proffered friendship, and the hand of a daughter of his own, for the Caliph's son and successor. Moastasam, too happy so easily to escape dangers against which he knew himself unable to contend, gladly assented to the proposal; and when Hulaku, thereupon, invited him to the Mongol camp, pledging his word for his safety there, the Caliph, willingly or not, hastened thither, attended by his emirs and other chief officers. The Khan received him with all the respectful friendliness that could be desired, and after awhile requested him to order the population of Bagdad to display the boasted immensity of their numbers, by appearing without the city gates, and, to avert the possibility of an accidental collision, by appearing unarmed. The Commander of the Faithful might think the request idle, but, in the Mongol camp, he was not to refuse compliance with the Khan's idlest fancies; the order was issued and obeyed. And then—Hulaku's promise had been carefully worded: the Mongols fell upon the defenceless people, massacring, to the amount, it is said, of 200,000. The town was sacked during six weeks, and treasures of Oriental art and Oriental learning were recklessly, unconsciously destroyed by the ignorant barbarians. Hulaku still kept the "word of promise to the ear," wofully "breaking it to the sense." The Caliph, though imprisoned, was mocked with a show of profound respect; his table served with numerous dishes, but they contained only gold, and Moastasam, the fifty-seventh and last Caliph, was literally starved to death.<sup>(141)</sup>

In Egypt, the Mamelukes were undisputed masters. There Chahrehldor, having, in a fit of conjugal jealousy,

murdered her husband, Asseddin, Bibars took the opportunity to get rid of her. He punished her crime with death, and raised Kotuz; a young son of Turanshah's, to the Sultanship. In his name, Bibars was now extending Mameluke domination northward, as if to meet the Mongols in Palestine, where the constant broils and feuds of the Venetians and the Genoese greatly enhanced the difficulties of the depressed and scarcely struggling Syro-Franks.

To return to Europe, and that part of the Holy Roman Empire, with which Manfred was more connected than with Germany, viz., those provinces of Italy, which did not acknowledge his authority. Milan, beginning to tire of the unceasing struggles for supremacy of her nobles and plebeians; or rather of the unceasing alternations of government from one faction to the other; in the year 1256, resorted to the former compromise, of each party naming a Podestà, conflictingly rather than conjointly, to rule the republic: for their incessant attacks upon each other must have been anticipated. In 1257, upon a nobleman's murdering a troublesome creditor, seemingly no uncommon mode of settling debts,<sup>(142)</sup> both parties flew to arms; when the plebeians, led by Martino della Torre, and, so far, with justice on their side, triumphed: but then the Podestà of the nobles was put to death, and the nobles, with the Archbishop at their head, were expelled. The city being now weary of warring Podestàs, it was proposed to reconcile the adverse factions by Martino's marrying a sister of Paolo di Soresina, the leader of the nobles, and the division of all posts of authority betwixt the respective partisans of the brothers-in-law. Alexander IV earnestly recommended this scheme, with cordial reconciliation. The first steps were taken, but no cordial reconciliation followed. A Pope had little real influence in Milan; Torre and his democratic faction could no longer brook the equality they had once demanded; and in a very few months, the nobles, with the brother-in-law of the triumphant rival leader at their head, were again expelled. Martino della Torre remained absolute master of Milan, though bearing no higher title than Signore and Capitano del Popolo. The dexterity with which he rendered his despotism more



than endurable, even agreeable to the people, may be inferred from his mode of driving an obnoxious greedy legate out of Milan; and an anecdote, so illustrative of the times, although something premature, may be here admitted. In 1262, the Legate in question importuned the Chapter of Milan to give, or sell him cheap, a valuable jewel, the property of the Cathedral. The Chapter complained to Martino; he assembled the people, made the Chapter's complaint known, and led them to the Legate's door. Once there, he offered him neither violence nor even remonstrance, but respectfully informed his Reverence, such was the veneration the Milanese felt for him, that, since he was determined or obliged to leave them, which all deeply deplored, they would not suffer him to depart, save escorted by the whole population. The Legate admired whilst detesting the politic device, making resistance impossible, and, so escorted, sorely against his will departed.

The other cities, both Lombard and Tuscan, were mostly engaged in their wonted feuds, prosecuted with the wonted virulence, and the wonted cruelty towards prisoners of war. The complete suspension of the Imperial authority was most welcome to all, and so was the double election in Germany. Richard or Alfonso was acknowledged, as interest or caprice dictated; but neither was obeyed. Even the Ghibelines, apparently, delighted in an emperor, whose impotence enabled them to combine professed loyalty with virtual independence. Venice and Genoa were engaged, A.D. 1258, not in their old habitual broils, but in the first of their many regular wars of commercial rivalry;<sup>(143)</sup> which, from the real power possessed by these republican cities, had less the character of civil war, than the feuds of the smaller towns. The Lombard League was virtually dissolved, since there was no Emperor to dread; and the most habitual of its noble members, the Marchese d'Este, at once acknowledging Manfred as King of Sicily, made considerable, though fruitless efforts, to accomplish his reconciliation with the Pope. Palavicino lost his imperial vicarship by Conrad's death, but was still one of the chief Lombard nobles, and still professed himself a Ghibeline, although, whether influenced by his Guelph

connexion, Conte Guido Guerra, or from some clashing of his ambition with Ezzelino's, his friendship with the house of Romano was broken, and he had allied himself, instead, with Martino della Torre.

Ezzelino's faults were still, it is said, increasing, and, what was politically worse, he was becoming responsible for those of others, of which, personally, he was guiltless. He had placed his nephews as Podestàs, in several subject towns, and they, as such favoured holders of delegated power too often will, indulged their passions and caprices, unrestrained by that sense of accountableness to God, if not to man, rarely quite unfelt by actual rulers. These nephews caricatured his worst qualities, being destitute of the good, as of the great, that still adorned, at least, his cruelty; one of them, Ansedisio di Guidotti, superadding cowardice and treachery. The vengeful plots which this tyranny produced may be imagined; their consequence was, that every incautious word, which legions of spies were on the alert to catch, perhaps to provoke, was punished with death, occasionally enhanced by previous torture, by the horrid manner of infliction—burning or fastening to a horse—then very general, or subsequent mangling of the senseless corse. And now the once admirable Ezzelino, if he knew what these nephews' government was, did, indeed, merit his surname. He had been excommunicated by Innocent IV, as an adherent of Conrad's, and a protector of heretics; he retaliated, and envenomed the hatred which the Pope bore him, by plundering church property and persecuting ecclesiastics.

After Conrad's death, Alberico di Romano, professing unbounded devotion to the Church, severed himself from his excommunicated brother, and made his submission to the Pope; whereupon he was not only relieved from excommunication, but recompensed with a grant from King William of all the Romano dominions. But neither could he take, nor could Pope and King together give him, possession of his grant. Innocent negotiated an alliance between the Lombard League and the Marquess of Este, against the redoubted Ezzelino; and this proved equally impotent. The only result of all these measures was, that whilst one brother menaced the Pope and the Guelphs

with destruction, the other persecuted the Ghibelines, emulating his ferocity; whilst a shrewd suspicion was entertained, that the fraternal quarrel was a mere stratagem, to dupe, and thereby detect, secret enemies.

In 1258, Ezzelino besieged Mantua; when the prospect of such an addition to his already formidable power alarming his politic neighbours, the Venetians, a hope of their co-operation dawned upon his enemies. The spirits and courage of Alexander IV, depressed by his discomfiture in Sicily and Apulia, revived, and he proceeded to action against this less potent adversary. He ordered a crusade to be preached against the Signor di Romano, and gave the command of the forces thus raised, comprising, as usual in papal hosts, the most ruthless banditti, to the Archbishop of Ravenna, assisted by the once potent, but long forgotten, and now utterly uninfluential, Fra Giovanni. They laid siege to Padua, of which Ansedisio was Podestà; and Ezzelino being still occupied with the siege of Mantua, which he hoped to take before the crusaders could even attempt any important operation, the chief command remained with him. Ansedisio represented to the Paduans, that the crusading army was a mere rabble of banditti in search of plunder, led by priests better versed in saying mass than in conducting a campaign or controlling troops; and the Paduans, cordially as they hated their Podestà, defended the town stoutly. But, presently, the casual burning of one of the city gates dispiriting them, a principal citizen proposed to capitulate. Ansedisio stabbed him; but the deed was the impulse of passion, not the deliberate act of reckless determination; for having committed the crime, he fled, deserting alike the post intrusted to him by his uncle, and the interests of his family. Padua surrendered, and found that Ansedisio, whatever his faults, had spoken but too truly. The Archbishop was powerless, and Fra Giovanni still more so, to prevent or check the sacking of the city, which lasted through a whole week, reducing some of the wealthiest inhabitants to beggary. But, if one of the most enthusiastic amongst modern votaries of mediæval liberty <sup>(144)</sup> is to be implicitly trusted, the hundreds upon hundreds of sufferers from the tyranny of either uncle or nephew, whom the Crusaders'

victory released from prison, amply compensated the impoverished, but disinterestedly Guelph Paduans for all their sufferings.

When Ezzelino learned the danger of Padua, he instantly raised the siege of Mantua, and hastened to the relief of perhaps the most important of his own cities. Upon his road its loss was publicly announced to him, by a messenger, whom, to obviate the disheartening influence of such disastrous tidings upon his troops, he ordered to be instantly executed as a liar. The terrible lesson effectually taught subsequent bearers of evil tidings, to reserve their communications for a private audience. He now proposed to recover the city, he had been too late to save; and, upon the 30th of August, attempted to carry Padua by storm. But the citizens dreaded his vengeance for their dastardly surrender, and hatred fired the released prisoners to the most desperate resistance. More to this hatred and to those terrors, than to the courage or prowess of the Crusaders, was the success of Padua in ultimately baffling the efforts of her assailants, probably due. Ezzelino reluctantly raised the siege, relieving his mortification by the execution or mutilation of the Paduans in his army, whom, upon the first intelligence of the city's surrender, he had imprisoned, to the amount, according to Guelph writers, of 11,000. An incredible number to suffer themselves to be thus treated! But he is said, by dividing them into classes, to have induced the dastardly majority always, in the hope of thus atoning for their own offences, to sacrifice the single class demanded.<sup>(145)</sup> And these were the men, whom the enthusiastic historian of the Italian Republics, and his school, esteem worthy, esteem capable, of republican liberty! Ansedisio's cowardly desertion of his post, his uncle punished with death.

This double triumph, the capture, and subsequent successful defence of Padua, inflated the arrogance of the Guelphs, and convinced the Ghibeline leaders, that all private resentment against Ezzelino must be sacrificed, to avert the common peril. Palavicino and Buoso da Doara renewed their interrupted, friendly relations with him; and Alberico, alarmed by the dangers threatening the House of Romano, forsook his Guelph patrons, from whom

he had derived little advantage, returning to his fraternal allegiance, and share of despotic power. The reinforcements brought Ezzelino, by these recovered allies, did not join in time to save Brescia; but with the capture of this town ended the success of the Crusade. The Archbishop, elated with his triumphs, which he ascribed wholly to his own military talent, now fancied himself more than a match for Ezzelino in generalship; therefore, when the Ghibeline army appeared before Brescia, despite the diminution of his own force by the desertion of Crusaders, hurrying home to secure their booty, despite the warnings of more experienced warriors, leaving the shelter of the city walls, he, upon the 1st of September, marched forth to give battle. He was defeated, as might be expected, and taken prisoner, and a prisoner he remained to the end of his days, the allies refusing—why, it were hard to say—to accept ransom for him. They are reported to have generally treated him with courtesy, though not always able to refrain from taunting him with his military genius, with the discipline of his army, and with the frightful sack of Padua.

In Tuscany, the determinedly Guelph Florence appeared irresistibly predominant. In 1256, she had forced Pisa, so long her superior, rather than rival, to make peace nearly upon her own terms, giving the use of her seaports to Florentine commerce, for the importation and exportation of merchandize, duty free; and only by a series of stratagems could Pisa evade the actual cession of a seaport to this upstart republic, previously too much disdained to awaken an idea of rivalry. In Florence itself, the Guelphs had, ever since the death of the Emperor Frederic, been tyrannizing over the Ghibelines; banishing some, executing others with a mockery of judicial forms, demolishing their mansions, the materials of which were used in repairing and strengthening the city walls. Nay, so far was this petty spite carried, that the sites of the ruined dwellings were ordered to lie permanently waste, and the architect, Arnolfo de' Lapi, employed to build a palace for the residence of the little more than ephemeral magistracy, now the *Palazzo Vecchio*, was compelled to alter, and greatly deteriorate his plan, to avoid honouring part of the site of

the demolished residence of the Ghibeline Uberti, by placing thereon a corner of his building.

In the Papal dominions, the March of Ancona was stubbornly contending against the authority of Alexander's nephew, Annibale Annibaldeschi, whom he had named Governor for the Church, and to whom he was endeavouring to give that province. The towns of Romagna were striving to break the papal yoke, whilst Rome half repented of having done so. The inexorable justice with which Brancalone punished malefactors, whether high or low, exasperated nobles and populace alike. In the course of his three years' rule he razed 140 urban fortresses, and hung many of their noble proprietors; his treatment of vulgar criminals may be inferred. Nearly the whole population rose against him, imprisoned, and but for the energetic activity of his wife, would have slain him. She prevailed upon the Bolognese magistrates to incarcerate the hostages and assure their friends, that all should be executed, if a hair of the Conte di Casalecchio were touched. Alexander, in his zeal to conciliate the Romans, cared little for the Senator's danger, and commanded the Bolognese to release the hostages. But the Bolognese, preferring the safety of their distinguished countryman to the Pope's pleasure, instead of releasing the hostages, exerted themselves so happily to increase their number, that they got hold of two kinsmen of the pontiff's, whom they held as additional security for the Senator's life. The Romans, accordingly, contented themselves with keeping him a prisoner, and naming Manuele Maggio, a Brescian, Senator in his stead. The new Senator, like his predecessor, to the utmost of his power, supported the Pope's antagonist, Manfred, as Regent of the Sicilies. But at home, Maggio favoured the nobles, and the popular party forgot their old anger at Brancalone, in the heat of their new anger at his successor. They brought the deposed Senator from his dungeon, reinstalling him in office, and his justice was even more inexorable than before. He hung two of the Annibaldeschi, nephews of Alexander IV; and open war now raged between the Pope and his most especial flock, headed by their Senator, who immediately acknowledged Manfred, as King of Sicily.

Manfred was no sooner crowned than he returned to Apulia, to quench the few, still smouldering, embers of rebellion; and this was speedily accomplished, everywhere, except at Aquila, where revolt against one of the Swabian dynasty could least have been anticipated. Aquila was a town built by Conrad IV, for the protection of the Abruzzan frontier, made independent, save of the Sovereign, and favoured to a degree that should have insured grateful loyalty. Yet the inhabitants, forgetful of their obligations to the late King, had declared that duty to the Church must supersede the claims even of his family, and had refused to acknowledge his son as king, or obey his brother as regent. But the neighbouring Barons, whose power and consequence were impaired by the rights and privileges Aquila enjoyed, gladly lent their aid to humble such pretensions, and compel submission. The whole kingdom, on both sides of the Strait, was now peaceful and loyal.

Still, however, the Pope claimed the kingdom for the English Prince upon whom he had bestowed it, and was, consequently, still at war with Manfred, although not a rebel remained in arms to support him. Excommunication and sentence of forfeiture were the only weapons left Alexander, with which further to wage this war; and Henry III grew impatient of incurring all the odium of the flagrant extortion practised by the legates upon the English clergy, without any counterbalancing benefit to his son. Therefore, seeing Manfred in apparently secure possession of the kingdom, nominally Edmund's, he proposed to the Pope to arrange a marriage between this son of his and Constance, the only child of Manfred by his Savoyard wife—whom he seems to have early lost—assuring to the young couple the succession to the crown. There was nothing in this scheme to gratify papal hatred of Frederic II and his descendants; and Alexander, already annoyed at the English monarch's supineness, in a matter so nearly concerning himself, began to look around for another vassal-King of Sicily. Henry, alarmed at the Pope's displeasure, retracted the obnoxious proposal, and the negotiation fell back into its former state.

Manfred was unwilling to exasperate the Pope, and

throughout the year of his coronation the war languished ; but still irritation was accumulating on both sides. Manfred deemed himself justified by pontifical example in making his clergy contribute towards the cost of his necessary defensive measures, and now kept rectories and sees vacant, appropriating the revenues to these purposes. Alexander renewed his excommunication, extending it to all the loyal clergy, and especially, by name, to the Archbishop of Agrigento, the Bishop of Sorrento, and the Abbot of Montecassino. Manfred thereupon employed his Saracen troops to chastise such of the cloisters and of the clergy, as the Pope's promises had lured, or his anathemas scared, into disloyalty.

Such proceedings naturally led to more active military operations. In the spring of 1259, Manfred, secure at home, seems to have indulged aspirations after the sovereignty, which his father had claimed over the whole peninsula, and enjoyed nearly everywhere, save in the Estates of the Church and the territories of the Lombard League. That, only as Emperor, Frederic claimed this sovereignty, and that he had little chance of obtaining the Imperial crown from Alexander IV or his successors, he must have known ; but may have looked to the Italian Ghibelines' need of a monarch's support, and to the general Italian hatred of transalpine domination, for facilitating the transfer of Italian suzerainty to the Sicilian crown. He sent a distant relation of his mother's, the Conte di San Severino, as his Lieutenant into Tuscany, apparently to lure the Tuscan Ghibelines into owning him as Lord Paramount. A more stirring mission he committed to Percivalle dell' Oria, whom, with the title of his Lieutenant, in the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, and Romagna, he sent, at the head of an army, to invade the Estates of the Church. Oria turned his arms first against the March of Ancona. That province, as before said, was far from thoroughly Guelph, or attached to the papal government, and at this time inclined rather to accept Manfred's authority than to oppose invasion in arms. What the March really desired was independence ; but the harsh severity, with which Oria punished the first unsuccessful resistance that he encountered, alienated the inhabitants, checking their dispo-



sition to change their masters. The Pope, alarmed by the invasion, offered his discontented vassals large concessions of rights and privileges; and the balance turned in his favour; but the March long remained the theatre of desultory warfare.

There, Alexander, for the present, looked for nothing beyond the prevention of any rapid success of the enemy. It was upon northern Italy, where the power of his great adversary, Ezzelino da Romano, was seriously threatened, that his hopes were fixed. There many of the cities, subjugated by Ezzelino, had risen in confederation against the oppression under which they groaned. Palavicino and Buoso da Doara, irritated by his usurpation of their shares of the common conquests, had renewed their alliance with his hereditary foe, Azzo d'Este, inviting Manfred to join their league. He declined, regarding Ezzelino as his brother-in-law, and the faithful adherent of his father; but the allies felt that, taking the opportunity of this insurrection, they were strong enough, even without royal aid, to accomplish their object. Ezzelino was aware of the enmity gathering around him; but he would not ask assistance from Manfred, lest he should be betrayed into acknowledging a suzerainty to which the King of Sicily had no right; he was now evidently determined to hold his principality in absolute independence. He was even brooding a scheme, which would have made him virtually monarch of all northern Italy, thus raising him far above the reach of the antagonists arrayed against him. The noble *fuorusciti* of Milan had, it may be remembered, sought refuge under his protection: through their instrumentality, he now meditated possessing himself of the mighty capital of Lombardy; and this great adventure he thought to achieve, before the allies could be prepared to act against himself.

Those allies took the field earlier than the Signor di Romano had anticipated; but this only necessitated some alteration in the measures devised for the execution of his project, apparently rather favourable than otherwise. He now proposed to turn the enemy's positions by a more distant, circuitous route, and surprise Milan, defenceless, in the absence of the Milanese warriors.

The scheme was well conceived, and, all but successfully executed; for he crossed the Oglio and the Adda undiscovered; but treachery then revealed his movement to the allies, and his further advance was impeded by their numbers. To surprise Milan was now out of the question, and, without a battle against a far superior force, he could neither regain his own dominions, nor cover his magazines, keeping his communication with them open. But from no act of boldness, even to temerity, did Ezzelino know what it was to shrink, though his prudence was ever exerted to lessen the hazard incurred. After much skilful marching and counter-marching, the main strategy seemingly of the age, he led his troops to attack the bridge over the Adda at Cassano, and had carried it, when he was severely wounded and fell from his horse. Such an accident seems in those days invariably fatal. He was borne to the rear, and in the confusion, the momentary discouragement that ensued, the confederates recovered the bridge.

The next day found Ezzelino, wounded as he was, at the head of his little army. The bridge being now strongly guarded, he crossed the Adda by a ford at some distance, and though immediately encountered by his enemies, arranged his far smaller force so judiciously, and fought so valiantly, that he had nearly won the victory, when a body of his men, the Brescians, who had been seduced by Palavicino, and Buoso da Doara, deserted him, passing over to the allies. They were as much re-animated by this accession of numbers, as the yet faithful Romano warriors were dispirited, even more than by the desertion, by the apprehension awakened of further treachery in their own ranks. Still, however, the conflict was resolutely maintained, until Ezzelino, fighting in the thickest of the battle, was again wounded, stunned by a blow upon the head, and, whilst insensible, made prisoner. Now all was indeed over, he himself being the whole strength of his party. His army instantly broke and fled.

The Marquesses of Este and Palavicino protected their important captive from ill-usage, and provided him with all needful medical attendance. Nor were his spiritual wants overlooked. Franciscans and Dominicans pressed

into his prison, exhorting, imploring him to confess his sins, do penance, and receive absolution. But Ezzelino, whether in sheer obduracy, as his Guelph contemporaries aver, or in self-delusion as to the character of his cruelties, consonant with his already recorded view of his own acts, or really being calumniated, replied: "I have no sins to confess, save that I have taken insufficient vengeance upon mine enemies, and have so far erred in the conduct of my army, that I have suffered myself to be betrayed. Therefore am I a prisoner—penance sufficient!" Having thus spoken, he remained thenceforward deaf to their remonstrances, gloomily and invincibly silent. He refused to take nourishment or medicine; but, growing impatient of so tedious a form of suicide, during the tenth night of his captivity, he tore the dressings from his wounds. The following morning, the 27th of September, 1259, he was found dead by his gaolers.

As the house of Romano now disappears from history, the fate which, in the following year, befel Alberico and his children, may as well be at once briefly recorded. He had secured a fragment of his brother's possessions, but not taken warning from his brother's catastrophe, to use his power more leniently. His tyranny provoked a rebellion, quickly so successful that he was driven to take refuge with his family in the castle of San Zeno, which, being built upon the nearly inaccessible summit of a rock, and amply provided with all necessities, was deemed an impregnable fortress. He was besieged there by the conquerors of Ezzelino, whom his own revolted subjects had joined; but he laughed at the vain attempts of the assailants, until treason opened gates, inexpugnable by force. Alberico had just time to secure himself with those belonging to him in the dungeon-keep, which again appears to have defied assault. But this tower had not been independently victualled for a separate siege, and by the end of three days, hunger and thirst rendered further resistance impossible.

Alberico now authorized his people to purchase their own liberty by delivering himself and his family up to the besiegers, merely stipulating that they should remind the Marquess of Este, that his, Alberico's daughter, was the

widow of the Marquess's son, the mother of his grandson and heir, praying him to protect the maternal kindred of that grandson from personal ill-usage. Rinaldo d'Este having died whilst detained in Apulia as a hostage, the Emperor had sent his widow, with her orphan boy back to the Marquess. But, either the remaining followers of the erst mighty house of Romano were too much absorbed in securing themselves, to heed their master's message or fate, or Azzo, gloating over the fall of the last of the rival house, cared little for the feelings of his son's widow—for, that absence prevented him from protecting her parents, brothers, and sisters can hardly be supposed, since Alberico's message implies his knowledge of Azzo's presence with the besiegers. Thus Alberico, with his wife and children, fell unprotected into the hands of his enemies; and sickening is the bare idea of the treatment they underwent. But still must it be remembered, that, only through knowledge of such frequent atrocities, can the strangely mixed character of the times be understood, or the men of those times justly appreciated. Henry VI and Ezzelino were not the prodigies of cruelty that modern writers often represent them; but simply a little more reckless of human suffering, than their contemporaries. In very truth, the study of the past provokes a painful, hardly to be repressed, suspicion, that humanity is not, as its name imports, an integral element of human nature, but a sheer product of civilization.

The first act of the drama of vengeance took the form deemed sportive. Marco Badoero, Podestà of Treviso, ordered a horse's bit to be put into Alberico's mouth, in token of subjection, when the inferior rebels completed the jest, by throwing him down upon his hands and knees, bestriding him, and with whips, goads, and spurs, forcing him to crawl about upon all-fours, bearing a man upon his back. When satiated with insults to the master at whose frown they had recently trembled, they, with a mockery of judicial forms, tried his six sons, sentenced them to death, and literally tore them to pieces before the eyes of their father, whose cheeks they buffeted with the dissevered and mangled limbs of his children. Next, his wife, and his two, still unmarried, beautiful daughters were completely

stripped, and thus exposed to the polluting gaze of a licentious rabble of all classes; then bound to a stake, and actually burnt alive. When vengeance, maliciously savage, was glutted with the mental tortures endured by the husband and father, the exulting victors proceeded to the infliction of bodily anguish. His flesh was torn off with red hot pincers, till his tormentors grew weary of the amusement; when, to make an end, he was tied to the tail of a horse, and the animal driven wildly forth to drag him along the ground whilst any spark of life, or vestige of the human form, remained. This brutally atrocious scene was enacted in August, 1260.

If Alexander was not disappointed in his hopes of Ezzelino's overthrow, he was grievously so in the results of the catastrophe. Of the power and possessions of the House of Romano he gained nothing. Palavicino and Buoso da Doara, staunch Ghibelines as ever, appropriated far more of the conquests than could Azzo d'Este. The largest share fell to Palavicino, whom Manfred found it expedient to appoint his Lieutenant in Lombardy, in the eastern portion of which the Ghibeline party still preponderated. The towns that had freed themselves from the Romano yoke, remained unconnected with Lombard League or Guelph lords, intent only upon recovering their right of choosing their despot, in a *podestà*, and, if he displeased them, punishing him at their own discretion. They elected those *Podestàs* from amongst themselves, unheeding either counsel or recommendation of legates. At Verona, Martino della Scala was raised to that office, being the first appearance upon the stage of public life of this great Ghibeline family, which really did, ere long, succeed to much of the Romanos' power. The booty, collected in the war against the extinguished race, the conquerors divided amongst themselves; no restitution appearing to have been made to any of those, for plundering whom the brothers had been excommunicated and overthrown; not even churches and cloisters recovered anything.

But, if those times were characterized by ruthless cruelty, so were they by passionately deep religious feelings; and even whilst the worse than butchery of the last of the Romanos was perpetrating, this intense devotion burst

forth in a new guise. At this very time, appeared at Perugia a long procession of men and women, their faces undiscoverably muffled up in hoods, but uncovered from the neck to the hips, scourging their naked bodies, till the blood flowed, and chaunting or shouting: "Blessed Mary, mother of God, have mercy upon us, and entreat thy son, Jesus Christ, to pardon us!" Admiration of this splendid, self-imposed penance was universal; sympathy with the Flagellants, as they called themselves, equally so, and the example was everywhere followed. From Italy, this penitential mania spread through France and Germany, even into Hungary and Poland. High and low mingled, undistinguished as undistinguishable, in the procession, and everywhere thousands of Flagellants were to be seen, proceeding, as if upon a pilgrimage, from town to town, headed, sometimes by priests, but oftener by hermits, all bearing crucifixes or censers, and marking their path with the blood that streamed from their self-lacerated flesh. In this burst of remorseful piety, scenes, analogous to those produced by the preaching of Fra Giovanni, occurred. Not only did ordinary sinners vow amendment, usurers are said to have restored their unlawful gains, and robbers their booty, to those whom, after their several fashions, they had plundered; whilst the wrong-doer presented his sword to the injured, who, in lieu of taking the offered revenge, fell upon the neck of his pardoned oppressor.

Gradually, however, the genuine repentance, that had originally given birth to this moral phenomenon, was superseded by pride, in the spontaneous atonement, which their extraordinary penance offered. The Flagellants began to scoff at the customary rites of religion, as tame, puerile, worthless, in comparison with their public self-scourging. This arrogance called forth the censures of the Church; and, at the very time that princes who laboured under excommunication, as Manfred, the Duke of Bavaria, and Marchese Palavicino, were taking repressive measures, in regard to these penitents, fearing that their collective numbers might be easily made available, to Alexander's purposes, against themselves; the very Pope who had excommunicated them, was denouncing such self-imposed penances as heretical, because undertaken without ecclesiastical

sanction. His censure checked the admiration that supported the Flagellants under their voluntary sufferings; and the passion for this description of masquerading martyrdom, died of inanition. After the lapse of a few months, not a single Flagellant was to be seen, and crime and cruelty prevailed as before.

## CHAPTER V.

### MANFRED.

*Negotiation with the Pope—Revolution in Tuscany—Manfred's growing Power in Italy—Death of Alexander IV—End of Latin Empire of Constantinople—Syro-Franks and Mamelukes—Election of Urban IV—his Enmity to Manfred.*

[1260—1262.]

ALEXANDER IV, deeply mortified by the failure of his own, and even of the triumph, anticipated from the long-dreaded Ezzelino di Romano's downfall, was induced, early in 1260, to make overtures to the King of Sicily. They were eagerly met, for Manfred was painfully sensible of the evils which the sentence of excommunication, however unjustifiable, had brought upon his father, his brother, and himself. But one of the conditions upon which his re-admission into the bosom of the Church was to depend, in fact, the *sine qua non* condition, was, the expulsion of all his Moslem subjects from his dominions. This was requiring from Manfred, not only the violation of his plighted faith, as well as of all the ties of gratitude, but an actual surrender at discretion. If he thus deprived himself of the only troops upon whom, in any future quarrel with the Roman See, he could rely, he would really lay his crown at the Pope's feet. He positively rejected the condition, adding, in his anger, the injudicious retort, that he would rather invite double their number from Africa. The negotiation was broken off, and in the course of the summer, Manfred, having reinforced his army with Africans, as threatened, made various inroads upon the estates of the Church.

But, to the Sicilian monarch, the most important event of the year was a revolution in Tuscany, that proved very advantageous to his interests. The Ghibeline fuorusciti



of Florence, with Farinata degli Uberti (celebrated by Dante<sup>146</sup>) at their head, growing restless in their asylum at Sienna, determined to make an effort for the recovery of their country, their property, and their rights. But, well knowing, that in this they could not hope to succeed unaided, they sought assistance from Manfred. He, occupied by his war with the Pope, and straitened in his resources, could spare them no more than one hundred of his German horse; and succour so small, the disappointed, and therefore angry, exiles, were inclined to refuse. The clearer-sighted Farinata calmed them with the remark: "Let us only have his banner with us, and we will quickly get more troops out of him." As the politic Florentine had expected, the appearance of even the hundred horse at Sienna, with the royal banner of Sicily, gave their little band of refugees both spirits and consequence. So much, indeed, of the latter, that their confidence proved infectious, and the Siennese marched out, with the Ghibelines, and the Germans, to encounter the ruling Florentines, who, on their part, were hurrying to chastise Sienna for sheltering those whom they had chosen to banish. Farinata is said to have intoxicated the Germans for the occasion, both with wine and with gold—mounds in perspective—as the reward of victory; thus impelling them to almost superhuman feats of temerity, rather than courage. They were supported by the exiles, as also by the Siennese; and, after an obstinate struggle, victory declared for the Ghibeline side; but the Germans, to whom this triumph was mainly due, were slain to a man, and the Sicilian banner fell into the hands of the routed Florentines, who solaced the vexation of their discomfiture by offering insults, through his royal banner, to the head of Italian Ghibelines, the son of the Emperor, whom they had alike dreaded and abhorred.

In the general elation produced by this victory, Farinata obtained from the principal Siennese merchants, the Salimbeni, a loan of 20,000 gold pieces. This sum he sent Manfred, to defray, as he said, the expense of the troops, whose assistance he vehemently implored; confident that, thus strengthened, the Florentine fuorusciti could take ample vengeance, both for the loss of the Germans, whose valour he extolled to the skies; and for the infamous treat-

ment of the royal banner by the Guelphs; who, even in defeat, had triumphed in their power of thus insulting the King of Sicily. The seasonable supply of money afforded Manfred the means of complying with the prayer so supported, and duly punishing the slayers of his soldiers and insulters of his banner, whilst helping the Ghibelines to humble the Guelphs. He named one of his most trusted officers, Giordano, Conte d'Anglone, his Lieutenant in Tuscany, giving him a respectable body of German troops, horse and foot, with which to second the operations of the Ghibeline fuorusciti, revenging both their slaughtered countrymen, and the insulted banner of Sicily.

As, even thus reinforced, Farinata did not feel equal to besieging Florence, his next business was, to lure forth the Guelphs, in order to engage them in the open field. To this end, he persuaded the Siennese to besiege Montalcino, a town, the dependent ally of Florence, lying to the south of Sienna. But the Florentines had no inclination for an action with the exiles, supported by such a body of Germans: and Montalcino was exhorted to hold out, until Manfred should be under the necessity of recalling his detachment. Disappointed, but not baffled, Farinata had recourse to stratagem, and the whole transaction is characteristic of age and country. He prevailed upon some members of the Siennese magistracy, to address a letter to the Florentine magistracy, professing, under the seal of secrecy, and in the name of a large portion of their fellow-citizens as well as their own, attachment to the Guelph cause, especially to the ultra-Guelph government of Florence; and offering, in proof of such sentiments, to open one of the gates of Sienna to the Florentine army, if, under colour of passing by, on the way to throw provisions into Montalcino, the leaders could manage, without awakening suspicion, to approach near enough to take advantage of the act.

This letter was intrusted to two Minorite Friars, who were taught to believe the treachery, the precise nature of which was concealed from them, sincere. They were instructed to say, that the despatch contained a proposal, momentarily beneficial to Florence, but to the success of which, as also to the personal safety of the writers, such

impenetrable mystery was indispensable, that they were forbidden to deliver it, until satisfied as to the persons to whom the knowledge of the contents would be intrusted and confined.

The *Anziani* of Florence, upon receiving this communication, selected two of their own ultra-democratic body, designated as Calcagni and Spedito, if, indeed, these be not mere nicknames, for the office of perusing and judging the epistle. They withdrew to read, and were dazzled out of all caution by the brilliant prospect, of simultaneously crushing the expelled Ghibelines, and subjugating Sienna. Hastily forming their plan, they flew to the General Assembly, to urge the rejection of all those prudential considerations, relative to Manfred's German troops, that had hitherto prevented their victualling Montalcino, where, distress for provisions must now be so great, that only immediate relief could prevent its surrendering.

A popular assembly is generally enterprising, if not enduringly courageous; the advice of the two *Anziani* was received with acclamations, and the despatch of an army, escorting a convoy, clamorously demanded. Conte Guido Guerra, indeed, and other experienced warriors, objected, reminding their countrymen, that an hundred German auxiliaries had lately given the victory to their enemies, who were now supported by a much larger body of German soldiers formidable, but could hardly retain these auxiliaries for any length of time. Such remonstrances were met by violence; Spedito coarsely taunting Tegghaio Aldobrandini,<sup>(147)</sup> the sturdiest of the objectors, with cowardice, who coolly replied: "Go thou as far as I do in the battle, and thou shalt be called a brave man." Cece Gherardini rose to insist upon the same objections, when the *Anziani* forbade him to speak, under penalty of a heavy fine: "I will pay the fine rather than be silent to the injury of my country," cried Cece. The fine was doubled, trebled; still in vain; till at length the *Anziani* commanded him, upon pain of death, to hold his peace. This insolent democratic tyranny was clamorously applauded, and, with heedless temerity, the relief of Montalcino decreed.

The war-bell, surnamed *la Martinella*, was rung, the *Carroccio* was solemnly drawn forth, and from every family,

according to their pecuniary means, horsemen and footmen presented themselves. The subject allies of Florence throughout Tuscany, and beyond its present limits, as Lucca, Pistoia, Arezzo, Volterra, Perugia, Orvieto, with other towns of both descriptions, of less note, sent their contingents, and, by the end of August, the Podestà Rangoni and the Capitano del Popolo, Monaldo Monaldeschi, marched southward, at the head of 3000 horse and 30,000 foot. They halted near Montaperto, where they took up a strong position, equally adapted for protecting convoys to Montalcino, repulsing an attack, and awaiting the result of their presumed intelligence with Siennese traitors; the secret being, perforce, imparted to the Florentine Generals.

Perhaps, when Farinata and his Siennese confederates beheld the unexpectedly great success of their fraudulent invitation, they may have wished the letter unwritten; since, for the defence of Sienna itself, they could not muster much more than half the numbers, encamped so menacingly near. But, whatever their thoughts, they betrayed no symptoms of alarm; neither did the other Magistrates, who were ignorant of the lure that had brought such an army upon them. The Florentine leaders, having, it should seem, forgotten that not to awaken suspicion of hostile intentions was part of the scheme, or being unable to control their troops, now sent an insulting message, requiring the Siennese to expel the Ghibelines, raise the siege of Montalcino, and, renouncing every other alliance, conclude a league, offensive and defensive, with Florence, of course in subordination to her. The Magistrates promptly returned a bold refusal. Even before this answer could have reached the camp, another message, transcending the first in arrogant insolence, was delivered in Sienna. By this, the immediate, unconditional, surrender of the city, with the demolition of such a portion of the wall as might suffice to admit the triumphal entry of the victorious Florentine cavalry, was demanded. A suspicion now arose amongst the citizens, that, in nothing short of a traitorous correspondence with persons within their walls, could so preposterous a demand have originated; but the suspicion neither chilled the courage nor checked the defensive pre-

parations of the Siennese, merely stimulating to greater watchfulness.

The Salimbeni came gallantly forward to supply pecuniary wants; and the aid of religion, to sanctify military measures, was called in after a fashion which, if irresistibly provoking a smile from the weakest and most superstitious in the nineteenth century, exercised a salutary influence over mind and spirits of the wisest, in the thirteenth. With solemn procession and holy rites, the Blessed Virgin was appointed the Gracious Guide, and Sovereign Lady of Sienna, when the keys of the city-gates were most reverentially placed in the hand of her image. This done, the subjects of the Virgin transmitted their second answer to the hostile camp; to wit, that Sienna would be defended with the wonted courage, and it was hoped, with the wonted success. Whilst all this was in progress, the fuorusciti had found means, notwithstanding the increased vigilance, to establish a channel of secret communication with those of their kinsmen and friends, who, having, apparently, by a false show of Guelphism, avoided the fate of their compatriot Ghibelines, were present with the Florentine army. The object of this intercourse was, the regulation of the conduct of this party during the impending action. Presently, one of the number, deserting, brought to Sienna intelligence of great dissensions amongst the hostile leaders; and the tidings reviving the confidence of the Siennese, the threatened multitude shouted as clamorously for battle, as the threateners had before.

The army, with which the Siennese Podestà, Troghisio, Roffredo d'Isola, the Capitano del Popolo, the Conte d'Anglone, and Farinata degli Uberti, were to encounter the Florentine host, amounted only to 17,000 men, but of these 1,500 horse, and 2,000 foot were the German veterans, whose great superiority to the burgher militia of the enemy, made them an army in themselves. Further to counterbalance so alarming a disparity of numbers, 400 German horse, and 800 Siennese foot were ordered to pass out by a remote gate, and, taking a circuit, fall upon the enemy from an unexpected quarter. These arrangements completed, the above-named chiefs, on the 4th of September, led forth their troops in martial array; and, to the no

small perplexity of the Florentine generals, came against them through the very gate, which they were expecting to see treacherously opened for their admittance. But they felt strong in their numerical advantage—being nearly two to one,—as in their well-chosen position; and the troops, unconscious of the disappointment of their leaders, fought gallantly. For a while, the fortune of the day was theirs.

But now d'Anglone charged with his dreaded horsemen, and at the same instant, the Ghibelines in the Guelph ranks executed their preconcerted movement. One of them, named Bocca d'Abati, rode up to Pazzi, the leader of the Florentine cavalry, and, unresisted because unsuspected, with one sweep of his sword cut off the arm, which, at that very instant, was waving the colours of his corps. Their fall dispirited the whole body; and Bocca d'Abati's party, simultaneously tearing off their Florentine cockades, mounted that of the King of Sicily, whilst shouting: "Down with the Guelphs!" Indescribable confusion ensued amongst the Florentine cavalry, and presently, without striking another blow, they fled. The infantry more perseveringly maintained the contest, and was still fighting, when the detached division, reaching the field, fell upon their flank. This unexpected attack consummated the bewilderment of the Guelphs; and the foot, following the example of the horse, in their turn fled. In vain, the heroic septuagenarian Tornaguinci, Commander of the Carroccio guard, gave his own life, his son's, and those of three kinsmen, in defence of his charge. In the utter rout, their resistance became hopeless, and both Carroccio and Martinella were the victors' prize. The loss of the Florentines has been variously estimated, at from 2500 killed, and 1500 taken, up to 10,000 killed and 20,000 taken; and, considering the customary slaughter of fugitives, may be safely reckoned at about 15,000 altogether. The loss on the Ghibeline side was trifling, and the Siennese exultingly instituted an annual celebration of their victory, by religious rites and martial games.

Montalcino, despairing of relief, surrendered; but the next fruit of the victory was far otherwise important. The hitherto sovereign Guelph faction shrank, notwith-

standing the unimpaired condition of the walls, from the task of defending Florence against the attack they expected; and, upon the 13th of September, evacuated the town, retiring to Lucca. Upon the 16th, the Ghibeline fuorusciti, escorted by Manfred's Germans, and conducted by his Lieutenant, d'Anglone, entered Florence in pacific triumph. The whole population swore fealty to Manfred, as suzerain of Italy: as though the sovereignty of Italy really were transferred from the Imperial crown to the Sicilian. The great Tuscan Ghibeline, Conte Guido Novello, was placed at the head of the Florentine government,—in some degree of subordination, however, to d'Anglone, the King's representative in Tuscany;—and the town undertook to pay a German garrison for two years. The boundary fortresses betwixt Florence and Sienna were dismantled, in token of the intimate union of the two cities; and the whole of Tuscany, with the exception of Lucca, acknowledged the suzerainty of Manfred, looking more to Sienna than to Florence as the intermediate head. The Pope instantly interdicted all commercial intercourse between his faithful children, and the allies or the thralls of the excommunicated usurper.

This interruption of trade was not the only inconvenience experienced in Tuscany, where tranquillity could hardly be said to reign. At Lucca, indeed, the despondent Guelphs, for the moment, merely wrangled amongst themselves, casting the faults and blunders, that had led to their disaster, in each others' teeth, which they did, when practicable, by means of a proverb, or old saw. Thus contemporaneous chroniclers report that Aldobrandini, taunting Spedito with the results of his policy, wound up his speech with an Italian proverb, purporting, that fools commit follies and wise men suffer from them; when Spedito retorted by another, that to be led by a fool is yet worse than to be one. In other places, more effective hostilities were either carried on, or attempted. Pisa and Sienna flattered themselves the time was come, for wreaking their long-nursed vengeance upon Florence. They represented to Conte Giordano that she was still Guelph at heart, and would assuredly again join this faction, when relieved from the constraint of his dreaded Germans.

Therefore, they argued, must Florence be rendered impotent; and, to effect this purpose, they advised treating her much as Milan had treated Lodi and Como, and been treated by Frederic Barbarossa; viz., reducing her to the condition of a village. The bare suggestion aroused the indignation of Farinata degli Uberti. He exclaimed, that he had fought not to consummate the ruin of his native city, but to enhance her prosperity and glory; and that, even should he stand alone, he would again fight to the last drop of his blood in her defence. His patriotic ardour carried the day, and d'Anglone rejected the proposal.<sup>(148)</sup> And now, with an incident or two, half pleasingly, half revoltingly, as characteristic of the times, as the proverb-fraught satire, or rhetoric, the affairs of Tuscany may, for the present, be dismissed.

If the Ghibeline Tuscan cities were not indulged with the destruction of their rising rival, in the gratification of more individual or private enmities they were; ay, even after the object of such enmity was gone to his last account. As for instance, a question had some years back been mooted in the Florentine Councils, respecting the expensive maintenance of a castle, situate near the Pisan frontier, and the authorities had decided upon its demolition. Pisa had long felt this castle a thorn in her side; and, unsuspecting of a determination so congenial to her wishes, had at this very time offered a large bribe to one Ottobuono, an influential man of the lower orders, to procure its destruction. Enlightened by the offer as to the real importance of the stronghold, Ottobuono hastened to the Great Council, and, by his vehement remonstrances, obtained the rescinding of the previous resolution. This incorruptible patriot had now been three years dead and buried. The Pisans dug up his corse, which they dragged ignominiously through the streets, and flung into a ditch.

The Florentine Ghibelines, as a matter of course, retaliated their sufferings to the uttermost upon the Guelphs, destroying all property of their vanquished and fugitive adversaries, upon which they could lay hand, and extorting immoderate ransoms from their prisoners. One of them, Gherardino Cerchio, was weighed, and required to balance himself with gold in the opposite scale, as the price of his



liberty. But to shed Guelph blood was, seemingly, a pleasure too exquisite to be generally relinquished, even for such a price. Farinata degli Uberti, having captured Cece Buondelmonte in a skirmish, took him up on the crupper of his own horse, to carry him to a place of safety. The act incurred universal reprobation, as a display of clemency, so mischievously unseasonable, that Farinata's brother, Asino degli Uberti, galloping after them, with a stroke of his battle-axe, slew Cece, even whilst clinging to Farinata for protection.

To Alexander IV, this revolution in Tuscany was a heavy blow; the evil consequences of which he vigorously exerted himself to remedy. He addressed the most urgent exhortations to the Guelphs congregated at Lucca, to recover their lost domination at Florence, and he reiterated the excommunications launched against Manfred, and all who held faith or intercourse with that enemy of religion. But the fuorusciti at Lucca were too few to act openly, Manfred's partisans were inured to such ecclesiastical thunderbolts;—in fact, the lavish as profligate use made of those church-weapons, in quarrels purely temporal, for purposes purely selfish, by Innocent IV and Alexander IV, had gone so far towards desecrating their character, that they were losing their terrors, save when supported by the passions of the people. Whilst thus striving for more extensive power, Alexander still durst not risk his person amongst the turbulent Romans, though unremitting in his efforts to pave the way for so doing. Through his various emissaries, he prevailed upon one party to nominate King Richard to the then vacant post of Senator; thinking thus to obtain an efficient protector. But another, and far more numerous party, elected Manfred to the senatorship; and he, with power and influence daily increasing throughout Italy, was at hand to enforce his claims; whilst Richard was not tempted by an invitation so partial, to involve himself in the troubles of Italy, superadded to those of Germany and England. In the ensuing month of March, 1261, Alexander IV died, at Viterbo.

During the few months that the Roman See remained vacant the long-tottering Latin Empire of Constantinople expired. Baldwin II had, for years, been soliciting aid

from the different European sovereigns. From the devout French King he had hoped again to purchase succours with the most revered of the relics he still possessed; but all they purchased him was a subsistence for himself; neither an auxiliary army, nor the means of hiring mercenary troops, for the defence of his crown, were to be wrung from St. Lewis. At length the death of his competitor, the active Vatazes, speedily followed by that of his son and successor, Theodore Lascaris, leaving only an infant heir, promised an interval, at least, of peace; and Baldwin returned home, to prepare, during the respite, for the resumption of hostilities. But, in such a state of destitution did he return, that he was reduced to the necessity of coining lead, taken from the roofs of churches and palaces, into money, and destroying fine houses to supply himself with firewood; until at length, by giving his son Philip in person as a guarantee, he obtained a loan from the Venetian house of Capelli.

The smaller Greek princes meanwhile encroached upon the very limited territories that had fallen to the Emperor's share, till the dimensions of his empire were actually ludicrous; but Constantinople was spared, perhaps respected, The respite from bolder hostilities proved too short to be of value. In 1258, Michael Paleologus, descended through females from the Comneni, dethroned the minor, Theodore Lascaris, possessing himself of the Nicene empire; when, his ambition merely whetted by the dignity he had acquired, he meditated wresting Constantinople from the Latin usurpers. He sought and found useful allies in the Genoese, who, nearly excluded by the Venetians and Pisans from the ports of Tyre and Acre, and wholly by the Venetians from those of the Eastern Empire, where they monopolized all trade, were ready, in their jealous hatred of commercial rivals, to co-operate with the Greeks in overthrowing Latin sovereignty at Constantinople, by which Venice, and Venice alone, had profited. They gladly supplied the vessels wanted by the Emperor of Nicæa, to transport his troops across the Euxine. He sought allies and auxiliaries even amongst the Mongols, of whom the Asiatic Christians seem still to have entertained no fears. Nogai, one of the Mongol chiefs, having

established an independent state, if a nomade community merit the name, in advance of the main horde, Michael secured his friendship, by giving him his illegitimate daughter, Euphrosyne, to wife.

But it was to the old East-Roman, not merely to the Constantinopolitan empire of the Flemish and French Earls, that Michael aspired, and he began by making himself master of some of the European provinces, before he risked alarming western Europe by an attack upon the capital. In 1259, he conquered the kingdom of Thessalonica, from his own kinsman and namesake, Michael Comnenus, the despoiler of the infant heir of Boniface. To the acquisition of Greek territories from Greek princes, Europe paid little attention; and now he turned his thoughts to Constantinople. But in this he seems to have contemplated a difficult and hazardous operation: for, selecting his most cautious general, Alexius Strategopulos, esteemed even superlatively so, he sent him with a small body of troops, hardly even to make an inroad upon the Latin empire, but to explore the state of the country in the neighbourhood of the capital; ascertain, as far as might be, the prospect of success in an attempt upon the city; and judge, both as to the manner in which such an attempt should be made, and of the force that would be requisite.

But, once across the Bosphorus, Strategopulos found himself surrounded by crowds of malcontent Greeks and disbanded soldiers—deserters from a service in which pay was seldom forthcoming—all prepared to join an invader. So strongly did they represent to him the disaffection of the Greek inhabitants of the metropolis towards their alien rulers, the paucity of Latin inhabitants, and the well-nigh total deficiency of troops—Venice seems to have neglected her share of the capital, and her fleet was in the Euxine—that even this hyper-cautious leader was tempted to risk a bold stroke. In the night of the 24th of July, 1261, by a forced march, he reached the metropolis of the once mighty empire. The gates were locked, but not a sentry gave notice of an approaching foe, the few appointed watchers being apparently fast asleep. One division of the small troop, commanded by Strategopulos, scaled the

unoccupied walls, others broke open the long-walled-up Golden Gate, and all, as they entered, set the adjoining houses on fire, to increase the confusion and alarm. A bewildering tumult ensued. Baldwin himself, the Latin Patriarch, and the principal Latin nobles, conscious of their unpopularity, appear to have been literally frightened out of their wits. They all fled for shelter on board the Venetian trading vessels in the port; and, in the morning of the 25th, Strategopulos found himself undisputed master of Constantinople. Thus expired the Latin Empire of the East, after lingering through an imperfect existence of 57 years, 3 months, and a few days. Baldwin II and his son Philip spent the remainder of their lives in vainly soliciting European assistance to recover their lost throne; and the daughter of the latter, Catherine de Courtenay, by her marriage with Charles de Valois, grandson of St. Louis, and younger brother of Philip IV, ultimately vested the pretensions of her family to the East-Roman Empire, in that branch of the third royal dynasty of France, which, under the name of Valois, ascended the throne.<sup>(149)</sup>

To return to the year 1261. Michael Paleologus hastened to seat himself upon the unexpectedly recovered throne of his ancestors; and, at once to adorn, honour, and sanctify his triumphal entry, a picture of the Virgin—again the reputed work of St. Luke, being the third found at Constantinople—was borne before him. But the empire thus recovered was dissimilar indeed to the realm of those ancestors, even to that lost by Murzuffos. The Asiatic portion, with few exceptions beyond the fragmentary empires of Nicæa and of Trébizonde—this last an independent rival state—had long been in the hands of Turks, Turkmans, and Tartars. In Europe, small Greek and Latin princes held really independent states throughout Greece, Epirus, and Thessaly; the Venetians, for the present his determined enemies, were Lords of the islands and of part of the Morea; for Dalmatia, he had to wage war with both Venice and Hungary, as for nearly all the rest with Bulgaria. Even of Constantinople itself, he was obliged to cede a suburb, Galata, to the Genoese, in addition to exemption from tolls, and a monopoly of the commerce of the Euxine, as the due remuneration of their services.

Every chance of the reunion of the Greek with the Latin church was, by this catastrophe, finally extinguished; and, to the absorption of recent Popes, in purely papal, if not actually personal interests and passions, may this reinvigoration of the schism be, in some measure, imputed. So may, in the same degree, the daily increasing distress and danger of the remnant of the kingdom of Jerusalem; but there, as at Constantinople, many were the conspiring sources of evil. The insanely virulent and pertinacious conflicts between the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese, deprived the royal officers of the dear-bought support of those commercial states; whilst the equally and more criminally virulent and pertinacious conflicts of the Templars and the Hospitalers—in the year 1261, the Hospitalers vanquished the Templars in an affray so bloody as to leave but one Red-Cross Knight in Syria, till the European preceptories sent others to supply the place of the slain—was calculated to chill the sympathy and even the compassion for the Syro-Franks, that might have been awakened by the constant progress of the Mamelukes under Bibars Bondocdar. This formidable leader of a formidable body, in the year 1260, had defeated the Mongols, driving them out of Syria, of which the Mamelukes remained nearly undisputed masters. And now, feeling no further need of veiling his object, he completed his series of murders, committed or instigated, with that of the Eyubite prince, Kotuz, and assumed the Sultanship of Egypt and Damascus.

Many of the Popes introduced to the reader in these pages, if not endowed with the qualities most to be desired in the Head of the Christian Church, have been remarkable men; and another such man, the successor of Alexander IV, though elected by accident, not choice, certainly was. At the death of the last pontiff the sacred college consisted of only eight Cardinals, some of whom were favourably disposed towards Manfred and the Ghibelines: wherefore, that this small conclave should ever agree in the selection of a new occupant for St. Peter's Chair, seemed hopeless. At length, weary of three months' confinement, amid protracted dissension rather than deliberation, the members devised a species of lottery, which,

debarring them from all choice, as from all present chance of the tiara, should compel unanimity, and thus terminate the strife of clashing interests. They resolved to accept as the Pope designated by Heaven, the first eligible subject, who, upon the 29th of August, should knock at the door of the conclave. This fortunate individual proved to be Jacques Pantaléon, a low-born Frenchman, already Patriarch of Jerusalem: and he was immediately proclaimed Pope, as Urban IV.

But, if accident placed the papal tiara upon the head of a cobbler's son, it was to talent, combined with great energy and diligence, that the cobbler's son owed a position, rendering such an accident possible. As a humble priest he had, amidst difficulties and dangers, successfully taught Christianity, in heathen Prussia and Livonia; he had been equally successful in political missions; and his abilities and indefatigable assiduity, thus proved, had procured him the bishopric of Verdun, followed by the patriarchate of the Holy Land. Two answers of his, illustrative of his character, have been recorded. Being taunted, when Patriarch, with the meanness of his family, he is said to have replied: "Noble birth is the gift of nature; to become noble, the work of virtue and intellect." The second speech was addressed to a sycophant, who eagerly congratulated him upon his exaltation to the papacy, and was: "The external splendour of a position strikes every eye, and seems enviable; the internal duties, cares, and perplexities, are unknown to all, and can be shared by none." That Urban, with his experience, and so just a view of the pontifical office, should have adopted the policy of his predecessors in regard to the Suevo-Norman race, is no slight exemplification of the almost impossibility of any change in the Papal system, or principles of government. The fears of the overwhelming power of Frederic II, should he, by subjugating Lombardy, effect the virtual union of his southern with his northern realm, which actuated Gregory IX and Innocent IV, and had been entertained by Innocent III and Honorius III, had for Urban no existence. The very occupation of the Sicilian throne by Manfred, whose imperfect legitimacy would be a bar to any pretension, on his part, to Germany

or the Holy Roman Empire, and who advanced none, really consummated the severance of the crowns for which Innocent III had been anxious. Yet did Urban IV, without other intelligible object than to tread in the footsteps of Alexander IV and Innocent IV, carry out their system, with a recklessness as to the means, and persecute Manfred with a frank intensity of inveterate hatred, scarcely comprehensible in a man so sensible of the duties imposed upon him by his assumption of universal spiritual paternity.

The continuous disturbances at Rome making a residence there inconvenient as well as hazardous, Urban established his court at Orvieto. This done, his first measure was, to give the sacred College a more decidedly Guelph aspect, by creating nine new Cardinals, all thoroughly devoted to the exaltation of the Papacy. The second, less easy of accomplishment, was a strenuous endeavour to relieve the Holy See from the various burthens, debts, and embarrassments, consequent upon the expensively ambitious schemes of his two immediate predecessors. Even when possessed of funds sufficient to repay the money borrowed upon security of Church lands, the mortgagees were often unwilling to restore the estates that they held in pawn, and long defied his efforts to recover them. Further to straiten his resources, claims to many Church fiefs, as gifts, were advanced by relations of several deceased Popes.

But, thus to free his dominions from the load cramping him, was with Urban only the means to an end; and—strange to say!—this end, beyond all others—beyond even that properly favourite papal object, the organization of a Crusade to protect Palestine—was the dethronement of Manfred, the utter ruin of the Suevo-Norman dynasty. By such persecution Alexander had driven Manfred, who would probably have been content with reigning quietly over the Sicilies, into seeking, in sheer self-defence, to extend his sovereignty. And so successful had his endeavours been, that one modern writer ascribes the death of Alexander IV, to vexation at Manfred's virtues and power.<sup>(150)</sup>

Manfred's anxiety, for relief from excommunication and interdict for himself and his subjects, now seems to have

been the only alloy to his prosperity. Having early lost his first wife, Beatrice of Savoy, he had, the year after his coronation, married Helena, daughter to the Greek Prince of Epirus and Etolia. Helena was reputed the most beautiful princess, as was Manfred the handsomest prince, of the day; and the deeply enamoured, newly-wedded pair wished but to enjoy their connubial happiness, amidst the pleasures of their gay, luxurious, literary, and, comparatively speaking, polished court. But these pleasures were of the kind, so acrimoniously condemned by the Popes at Frederic II's Court, of which theirs was the reflex or continuation: Manfred, being, like his father, a patron and a votary of letters and the arts, had, also like him, surrounded himself with poets, musicians, artists of all descriptions; and contended with troubadours, or their Italian rivals for, the laurel crown of poesy, whilst admiring the graceful movements and the skill of the Saracen dancing girls, who would naturally be recalled by Frederic to amuse his few hours of repose and recreation, when his sacrificing them failed to propitiate Innocent IV. That there might be much in the song and the dance probably offensive to an austere churchman, as it would be to both the taste and the delicacy of a more refined age, is indisputable, since coarseness, such as might almost deserve the name of licence, seems the usual style of imperfect civilization. The Guelph writers, who reprobate the Sicilian Court as a sink of iniquity, do so in language that, in a latter generation, would prove complete destitution of decency. During this phase of civilization, mixed companies of men and women, the most highly educated and polished of their day, are found discussing subjects such as now can hardly be indicated. No grounds for suspecting Manfred's court of immorality appear. Manfred himself is repeatedly said to have inherited all his father's great and fine qualities, unblemished by his laxity of principle relative to women; a felicitous deficiency in his heritage, a confirmation of which is afforded, both by the evidently close and happy union in which he lived with his Queen—of his first marriage little is known, but Helena died of his loss—and by his stringent laws for the protection of female chastity. He suffered no



difference of rank to palliate the guilt of seduction, or to exempt the proudest noble from repairing by marriage the injury, which the reputation of the meanest maiden had suffered from him, provided that her reputation were otherwise unblemished. So strictly did he enforce this law, that his own Chamberlain, Conte Amelio di Molise, vainly endeavoured, by a great pecuniary sacrifice, to escape taking to wife a girl of previously unimpeached fame, with whom he had been surprised;<sup>(151)</sup> Manfred imprisoned him until he married her. And so effective, did the operation of such a law, so enforced, prove, that the chastity of Manfred's court is eulogized by a contemporary, in language too plain for translation or transcription; thus vividly demonstrating the compatibility of virtue with indelicacy, in the unrefined.

But Manfred allowed neither such pleasures, nor the happiness of his domestic life, to interfere with the duties of his station. He regularly administered justice in person, then held to be one of the highest of those duties, and he studied in every way to promote the interests of his kingdom. He repaired the damage Naples had suffered from the wrath of his harsher brother, and brought back to its original seat his father's University, which Conrad, as part of the merited punishment of her disloyalty had transferred to Salerno. There Manfred left only that which was there before the transfer, namely, the school of medicine, with its necessary adjuncts; compensating the Salernitans for the privation by so improving their harbour, as to attract commerce thither. He founded many schools of humbler description, thus to extend the benefits of education to the lower orders; and, understanding that the health of the inhabitants of Siponto was seriously injured by the proximity of noxious marshes, he built upon a hill at some little distance, a town, named after himself Manfredonia, to which he removed the suffering Sipontans. But, amidst his enjoyments and his occupations, excommunication and interdict pressed upon him like a nightmare. Even his own clergy he could not everywhere induce to treat them as invalid, because grounded upon injustice; and where he could not, the district suffered under the privation of the rites of religion. The more bigoted of his subjects shud-

dered at living under an excommunicated King, and deemed the sentence rightfully incurred by his toleration of Mohammedans. Whilst to many, who had no fanatical horror of their Saracen fellow-countrymen, or of the style of their monarch's court, the degree of refinement marking it, being uncongenial, was matter of censure, or of ridicule, as unmanly.

Manfred joyfully hailed the election of a new pope as affording reasonable hopes of reconciliation, and re-admission into the Church. Early in 1262, he sent a congratulatory embassy to Urban, bearing the most liberal offers,—the immediate evacuation of the Estates of the Church by his troops, included—in return for the repeal of the sentences of excommunication and interdict, which, with the recognition of Manfred as King of Sicily, they were to solicit. But, some disturbances just then occurring in the insular half of the kingdom, the Guelphs flattered themselves that these foreboded the overthrow of the monarch and the Ghibelines. Under this illusion, Urban advanced preposterous pretensions, and, upon the Envoy's remonstrating, broke off the negotiation.

The hopes of the Guelphs were disappointed. The Conte di Bizano, Lieutenant or Governor of Sicily, was indeed assassinated by a German follower of the Hohenbergs; but the expected rebellion did not ensue. The murderer fled to Trapani, which Bizano's successor, Federigo Lancia, besieged and took; immediately executing him and his accomplices. The Sicilian malcontents shortly after this discomfiture lighted upon a beggar, who, as it chanced, bore to the deceased Emperor a resemblance, sufficient to offer means of exciting troubles. They disseminated rumours of Frederic II having resolved to expiate his manifold sins by a pilgrimage of several years' duration, and caused his death to be announced, in order to facilitate his departure unattended and unknown; from which pilgrimage, having performed his vow, he had now returned to resume the government of his realms. No tale is too extravagant to find believers, amongst those whose interests would be advanced by its truth. The fictitious emperor was presently encircled by a band of fidelity-vowing vassals, deceived, or deceivers; but the beggar, like the German

assassin, was speedily captured by Lancia, tried, convicted, sentenced to death, and executed, with eleven of his accomplices. Manfred now visited Sicily, and, from the enthusiastic loyalty of his reception, Urban might judge that the troubles from which he had anticipated the overthrow of the race, hated of Popes, had rather confirmed and strengthened his authority.

Manfred's royalty and power received at this time the sanction of foreign admittance: James of Aragon asking the hand of Constance, the only child of Manfred's first marriage, for his own son and heir, Don Pedro. The proposal is commonly ascribed to the princess's being her father's heir; and that Helena, at the moment, had not produced a son, to supersede her, seems as certain, as that, eventually, the calamities of her family replaced her more decidedly in that position. But leaving Conradin, whom Manfred called his heir, out of the question, the daughter of a man not yet thirty years of age, recently married to a wife under twenty, would scarcely be sought as an heiress. The King of Aragon's proposal, whatever the motive, appears to have been most displeasing to Urban, who endeavoured, in a very prolix epistle, to persuade him to recall it. To this end he taxed Manfred with the usurpation of his nephew's birthright—a strange charge from him who disputed, almost denied, Conradin's right to anything but his grandmother's kingdom of Jerusalem—with the murder of Borello d'Anglone, and of a Bavarian envoy; with the invasion and partial occupation of the dominions of the Church; and with the persecution of ecclesiastics, in addition to heresy, cruelty, and voluptuousness; winding up the whole with an accusation of offering delusive terms of peace, which he was predetermined to break.<sup>(152)</sup> King James, though a pupil of Simon de Montfort, seems to have paid little attention to this papal exhortation; for it is dated April 27th, 1262, and upon the 13th of June the wedding was splendidly celebrated at Naples.

The degree of Urban's anger, at the failure of his interposition, may be estimated from his endeavour to punish Don Jayme's obduracy in regard to the marriage of his son, by breaking off his daughter's, and thus disappointing

his hopes of seeing her Queen of France. She was affianced to Lewis IX's eldest son and heir, Philip surnamed *le Hardi*, and Urban pressed the saintly King, to break off his engagement with a refractory monarch, who had sought an excommunicated usurper's child for his son. But the bigotry of Lewis never made him the blind thrall of a Pope, and the marriage of Philip to Isabel of Aragon, followed Don Pedro's to Constance of Sicily, in the very teeth of Urban's admonitions. Indeed, the manner in which this really pious monarch, the personified devotion of his age, ventured to judge for himself touching excommunications, disregarding such as appeared to him unjustly denounced, is not a little remarkable.

The new accusation brought by Urban against Manfred of murdering his sister-in-law's ambassador—it may be observed that, tacitly, he acquits him of parricide, fratricide, and nepoticide—requires a little explanation. Some Guelph historians relate<sup>(153)</sup> that the widowed Empress, when informed of Manfred's having, upon a report of Conradin's death, ascended the throne, sent two ambassadors, named by some Krokus and Boascianus, by others, Bussarus and Groffius, to contradict the report, and claim the Sicilies for her living son; and that Manfred, after vainly trying to incite his partisans amongst the Roman nobility to waylay these dreaded revealers of his fraud, if not of his attempt to murder Conradin, hired a nephew of the opulent and highly respected Cardinal Annibale, to assassinate them. Such a tale is hardly susceptible of disproof; and as the relators adduce no evidence in its support, all that can be done, is to state such admitted facts, in any way bearing thereon, as may have been distorted or exaggerated into the accusation.

One such fact is, that Elizabeth did send an embassy to Manfred upon his election, which embassy reached his Court in perfect safety, and there, apparently in a public audience, announcing that Conradin was alive and well, demanded the restoration of the kingdom. Manfred's answer is thus recorded:<sup>(154)</sup> "By hard fighting I conquered this kingdom from two Popes, who positively refused to cede a single foot of it to Conradin; and it was moreover committed to me by the Heads of the nation.

Upon these grounds I claim the sovereignty for myself during my life; but, at my death, let the nephew succeed to the uncle. If, however, my nephew desires to be a fitting and efficient King of these realms, he must come hither, and learn our manners and customs." Now such an embassy having been courteously received, and, after being allowed publicly to announce Conradin's life, and advance his claim, dismissed with an invitation to the claimant to come and be educated as heir, what possible motive could Manfred have for murdering others, sent either for the same purpose, or to carry a rejoinder to his reply? But there exists a letter, addressed by Italian Guelphs to Conradin, relating an occurrence, that might easily be transformed into this sanguinary violation of the law of nations by Manfred. The letter, which is professedly official, states that persons, calling themselves envoys from Conradin, and leaders of a small troop, had visited the writers, and made them proposals for conjointly attacking Manfred; but that Manfred had sent a band of mercenaries against these belligerent envoys, who were all slain. These self-entitled envoys are probably those mourned over by Urban and the Guelph historians; and they clearly could not even pretend to the sanctity of the ambassadorial character. Whether authorized or not by Conradin's mother and uncles, they were simply either partisans, or leaders of mercenaries, trying to recruit their numbers for an inroad upon Apulia, or perhaps merely to sell their services; and either way enemies in arms, whom Manfred was perfectly justified in opposing by armed troops.<sup>(155)</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

### MANFRED.

*Papal Offers of the Sicilies—Refusal of Lewis IX—Bargaining with Charles of Anjou—Clement IV Pope—Preparations of Manfred—of Charles—Charles at Rome—Lombard Interests.* [1262—1266.

URBAN, more irritated than depressed by his disappointments, strained every nerve to wrest the Sicilian kingdom from Conradin, whose right his letter to the King of Aragon admits, as well as from Manfred; the sole purpose of the admission had been to incriminate Manfred, the Pope evidently hating the child-nephew as bitterly and implacably as the accused uncle. Alexander IV had long been impatient of Henry III's inactivity in regard to his son's royal prospects; and Urban now offered Sicily, on either side of the Faro, to his own natural sovereign, Lewis IX, for one of his sons. But the French King's piety, being genuine, inspired morality; and he refused to accept the property of another; urging that, however unlawful Manfred's title might be, the right of Conradin was indisputable; and, could it even be deemed forfeited, which he denied, the Popes themselves had transferred the kingdom to Prince Edmund of England. He urged further, that the chief duty, at that time, of every Christian potentate, was to maintain peace throughout Christendom, and devote himself to the rescue of the Holy Land from Mohammedans and idolaters; as a step towards which hallowed end the Latin empire of Constantinople should first be restored.<sup>(156)</sup>

The spiritual sovereign, instead of profiting by the example and the admonition of his temporal brother sove-

reign, sought to remove the layman's conscientious scruples. He directed his Legate to inform the King, that he and his Cardinals, having duly considered his right to transfer a fief of the Holy See, were satisfied as to the lawfulness of the transaction; and, even were there a possibility, which there was not, of their being mistaken, and the transfer sinful, the responsibility for that sin they took wholly upon their own souls. The Emperor Baldwin, who was then at the French court, and had educed cheering hopes for himself from the king's answer, took alarm at these vehement exhortations, which, from the acknowledged spiritual Head of the Church, must, he feared, so influence the devout monarch, as to divert him from the evidently contemplated recovery of Constantinople, to a long struggle for Sicily. He wrote to Manfred, of whom since the death of Vatazes without offspring by Anna, he felt no distrust, to warn him of the impending danger, apparently in the idea that thus cautioned, he might in some way avert his danger. The letter was intercepted by Urban's emissaries; but innocuously, for here no danger threatened. St. Lewis was not to be lured from the path of duty, when, as now, distinctly seen. He persisted in his refusal, even after Urban had, through his Legate, Bartolommeo Pignatelli, Archbishop of Cosenza (one of Manfred's rebellious prelates,) extorted, from Henry III and his son, the renunciation of their claim to Sicily.

But, if from this quarter Manfred had nothing to fear, the case was very different when the Pope, finding the King immoveable by either sophistical casuistry or ecclesiastical authority, revived Innocent IV's proposals to Charles of Anjou. The righteous monarch, of course, positively objected to his brother's accepting the offers, which he had refused for his own son. But Charles, now master of his wife's patrimony, was no longer as dependent upon his royal brother as he had been at the time of Innocent's overtures—although in one point of view he might seem to be more so, not now, as then, having one liege Lord to oppose to another; for, taking advantage of the suspension or the weakness of the Imperial authority, he had renounced the homage previously done to the Emperor for Provence, in order to be solely a French Prince—and,

in himself, he was precisely the man for Urban's purpose. As unscrupulous as Lewis was the reverse, he was daring, able, and energetic; whilst his utter indifference to all pleasures whatsoever, lawful or unlawful, intellectual or sensual, even to the prime joy of the Middle Ages, field sports, left all his powers of body and mind free, to be exclusively dedicated to the gratification of his sole passion, inordinate ambition. Even his inexorable severity in punishing malefactors, bearing the character of strict justice, helped to give him the aspect of austere morality, and ascetic devotion, befitting the champion and favourite of the Pope. Yet the equally savage punishments, inflicted by his orders for the slightest faults, might have indicated recklessness of human suffering, as the true source of both. And this portraiture of Charles of Anjou is taken, be it observed, not from Ghibelines, mourning over the vanquished, but from Guelph writers, his partisans.

Had the ambition of this bold, bad man needed a spur, it would have been found in the vanity of his wife. Her three elder sisters were Queens, respectively of France, of England, and of Germany and the Romans—the third, Sancha, being wife to Richard of Cornwall. The county of Provence had been settled upon Beatrice, although the youngest, at her marriage; perhaps as a compromise with the powerful Lewis IX, to make the principality French, without merging in the kingdom, as it must have done, if inherited by the eldest sister.<sup>(157)</sup> Beatrice could not brook a title inferior to that borne by her sisters, and a seat of inferior dignity when they met at festivals. Rapturously welcoming Urban's proposal, which was to raise her to their level, she looked upon the injustice of the scheme, the difficulties impeding its execution, and even the hard conditions attached to success, as dust in the balance, and was eager to hazard her patrimonial principality for the chance of an usurped kingdom.

Charles, however, if equally eager for the prize, did not chuse to have the crown impaired upon coming into his possession; and so earnestly did he object to the terms, to which Urban pertinaciously adhered, that the negotiation was thereby very materially protracted. And well



might he object; for the Pope proposed, in the first place to grant the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (the title seems to have been adopted about this time,) to Charles, *Comte d'Anjou et de Provence*, and his descendants, as a masculine fief, only, and without the *Terra di Lavoro*, which, including Naples itself, was to be incorporated with the Estates of the Church. Secondly, he required from the King an annual tribute of 8000 ounces of gold, any delay in the payment of which was to incur personal excommunication; a second delay bringing an interdict upon the kingdom; he demanded, further, a distinct sum of 50,000 marks, to be paid down upon achieving the conquest; and a white palfrey presented every third year in token of vassalage. Thirdly, the King was to furnish the Pope, whenever required, and at his own expense, with a corps of 300 knights, each having four horses, and the due number of armed men, or a fully equipped fleet of correspondent force, at the Pope's choice. Fourthly, all Church rights and Church property were to be restored, and such laws of Frederic's and Manfred's, as restricted ecclesiastical privileges, rescinded; all differences upon such points being referred to the Legate. Fifthly, the King of the Sicilies was never, on pain of forfeiting his kingdom, to accept the title of Emperor, King of Germany, or Lord of Lombardy or Tuscany, or any high office in any of those countries, or in the dominions of the Church; nor was he, without the express consent of the Pope, to give a daughter in marriage to any one holding such dignity, or such office; or to conclude any alliance detrimental to the Pope. Sixthly, Urban required, that the Barons and the Estates of the kingdom should swear to the observance of these conditions by the King; and further that, in case of their transgression by him, they would adhere to the Pope; renewing this oath every ten years. And, finally, the whole treaty was to be null and void, should Charles not set forth within the year, at the head of 1000 knights and 4000 horse, for the conquest of the Sicilies.<sup>(158)</sup>

Urban proposed, on his part, to assist Charles, when he should have accepted these conditions, in various ways. First, by the especial weapons of the Church, excommunication of Manfred and his partisans, and the proclamation

of a Crusade against him; next, by granting Charles for three years a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Anjou, Provence, Sicily, Apulia, and indeed throughout Italy; and lastly, by a gross breach of trust; to wit, giving him, to defray the expense of his aggressive war against a Christian prince, the money subscribed, and often painfully scraped together by devout individuals, and deposited in the Pope's hands, for the ransom of captive Crusaders. He offered further—incredible as it seems—to pledge himself never, under any circumstances, to receive Manfred, Conradin, or any of their race, into the bosom of the Church.<sup>(159)</sup> Despite these liberal promises, Charles demurred to conditions, that deteriorated the sovereignty offered him; and a full year seems to have been lost to both parties, in chaffering for another man's dominions.

Whilst the negotiation was in progress, Urban sought to give his unlawful and arbitrary measures a varnish of plausibility. To this end, he formally summoned Manfred to appear before his tribunal, and either clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge, or submit to the pains and penalties that he had incurred. This summons he caused to be affixed to the door of the cathedral of Orvieto, a town appertaining to the Papal dominions, and, at the time, his own residence; omitting—purposely, who can doubt?—to take any steps, either by mission or by letter, for making it known to the summoned. But Manfred's anxiety for a reconciliation with the Holy See, which would avert the impending storm, counteracted and foiled this informality. Availing himself of the summons, he despatched envoys to the Pope, requesting the appointment of time and place for his appearance; when, upon receiving a safe conduct, he would hasten to plead his own cause before his Holiness, assured that he could fully justify himself. Urban, even had he not been entangled in his negotiations with Charles, had no desire to see the King of Sicily justified. He therefore answered abruptly, that Manfred having made himself unworthy of pardon, the excommunication could not be revoked; and at once dismissed the envoys, without even an affectation of paternal regret for necessary severity. Manfred, thus cut off from all hope of peace, collected his forces and occupied the March of Ancona. Urban com-

plained loudly of what he called an act of unprovoked aggression; which he proceeded to visit with condign punishment. He convoked an assembly of Ecclesiastics and leading Guelphs, in which, after a long enumeration of the crimes imputed to Manfred and his father, the deceased Emperor, he solemnly deposed the whole race of Hohenstaufen, and transferred the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia to Prince Charles of France, Comte d'Anjou et de Provence.

There seemed, at that moment, good reason to hope that the sentence would prove nugatory, for Manfred's power was increasing from day to day. Lucca, taking alarm at her insolation as the only Guelph city in Tuscany, had concluded a treaty with d'Anglone, the King's Lieutenant in that duchy, or marquisate, by which she agreed to deliver up her castle and Ghibeline prisoners to him, expel all alien Guelphs, then within her walls, and join the Ghibeline League. The Florentine fuorusciti had now to seek safety and the means of existence elsewhere. At the impulse of party spirit, they assisted the Guelphs of Romagna, in subjecting that whole province to the Pope's authority; but ere long their destitution led them to hire out their services to any belligerent Italian potentate, great or small, without any regard to his political principles; as, soon after this epoch, regular *Condottieri* and their bands habitually did, throughout Italy. One of these Guelph bands has been seen offering their arms to Conradin, for the recovery of his kingdom from Manfred; but, whatever distrusts the despoiled heir's guardians might entertain of the *de facto* King of Sicily, they never were betrayed into either uniting with the bitter enemy of the nephew, as of the uncle, against the latter, or facilitating, by a separate attack, the Pope's usurpation of the prize for which they contended.

About this time occurred an incident, which, for a moment, seemed likely to revolutionize all existing interests. A new Roman Senator was to be elected, and a determination that he should be of royal birth, was general; but the Ghibelines were unluckily divided as to the individual prince; some wishing again to confer the office upon the King of Sicily, others upon his son-in-law, Don Pedro of

Aragon, and their disunion enabled the Guelphs to carry the election of Charles of Anjou. Eagerly he accepted a post, which he had, most likely, under hand solicited, as conceiving it one that would make him less dependent upon the Pope in Italy; the very reason, for which Urban had so comprehensively covenanted against his holding Italian offices. Charles sent a deputy in all haste to Rome, to act for him until he himself should arrive. The pontiff was angered by this contravention of the pending negotiations; his confidence in Charles was shaken, and he assembled the Cardinals, to deliberate upon the measures required by this altered position. Several Princes of the Church urged his Holiness to break off the treaty with the rapacious French prince, to which they had always felt conscientiously repugnant. But, the majority being devoted, even more to the passions of the Pope, than to the interests of the Papacy, the decision taken was merely, by further negotiation, to obviate the evils apprehended from this accession of power to the future vassal-King of Sicily.

For this purpose, Simone, Cardinal di Sta. Cecilia, was despatched to Provence, with instructions to insist upon Charles's limiting his acceptance of the senatorship to five years. Should the office be already accepted for life, he was to exact his solemnly plighted word, under penalty of forfeiting his promised kingdom, to lay it down when in possession of so much of the realm, as would justify him in assuming the title of King of the Sicilies; and to assist the Pope in recovering his sovereign authority over the Romans. Simone was likewise to offer Charles, in Urban's name, a dispensation from the shackles of any oath contrary to these demands, that he might have sworn. Charles had assuredly meant not to lose the Sicilies for the Senatorship, but neither would he gratuitously relinquish the advantages the latter gave him. He endeavoured to make his compliance with the Pope's present demands, the price of considerable relaxation in the original terms; and still the negotiation lingered, each party striving to outwit the other. Urban sought to turn the delay to account, by redoubling his epistolary efforts, to persuade Lewis IX to assist his brother in his unjust enterprise, and the French clergy to submit quietly to paying large

contributions towards the expense of a crusade against a Christian king, whom he chose to designate as "a Saracen, sunk in every description of vice."

In the end, the Cardinal abandoned the claim to the whole of Terra di Lavoro, contenting himself, in the Pope's name, with Benevento and its territory; and Charles acceded to the other conditions, which, his subsequent conduct seems to indicate, that he looked forward to observing or breaking, as should seem convenient, when secure of his kingdom. But many months elapsed ere this compromise was effected; Charles, probably, taking his chance, at least till he should himself be ready to act, of Urban's giving way. For this he diligently laboured: Beatrice eagerly pawning her jewels, and concurring in every possible measure for raising money, how tyrannical and ruinous soever, throughout her principality. Thus the requisite preparations proceeded with all practicable despatch.

Manfred, on the other hand, was striving hard to benefit by the time, which this diplomatic haggling afforded him, and sought by vigorous hostilities to extort peace from Urban, before the Earl's armament could be completed. With this view he had organized, for the campaign of 1264, a threefold invasion of the Papal dominions, which two armies were to enter, severally, from the eastern and the western side of his own dominions, and a third from Tuscany, under Giordano d'Anglone. The great vassals, who were still bound to assist in the defence of their invaded country, refused indeed to cross the frontier, asserting that their service was due only for the defence of the kingdom, and unable or unwilling to understand that a diversion upon the enemy's territory, might be an essential part of the best system of defence. But for this refractoriness Manfred found a remedy; through his brother-in-law, Caserta, he borrowed from each of the nobles the sum provided for a campaign at home, with which he hired troops to supply the place of the vassalage.

And now the plan was put in execution. The second and third of the invading armies, namely the western and the Tuscan, met with some success; but their operations were designed to be subsidiary only to those of the first,

under Manfred's favourite general, Parzivale d'Oria, wherefore a most unfortunate accident, the consequence of this general's kindheartedness, foiled the whole scheme. D'Oria, marching through the Abruzzi to attack Spoleto, had crossed the mountains and reached the river Neri. This stream was to be forded; it was passed, and, with the bulk of his forces, he was safe upon the further bank, when he observed a single horseman in the middle of the river, evidently in difficulty replete with danger. The chivalrous General instantly rode back in person to his assistance, when his horse stumbled and fell in the water. In those days of heavy armour such an accident has been seen all but irremediable; and Parzivale d'Oria, unable to disengage himself from his fallen charger, was, like Frederic Barbarossa, drowned ere his troops could rescue him. The loss of their general disheartening the troops, numbers deserted; and Maneria, d'Oria's successor, durst not lead a reduced and dispirited army into the enemy's country.

Charles, far from being ready to act against these armies of his antagonist, had not, at the moment, yet signed his treaty with the Pope; and was, in fact, hoping, that Manfred's success might frighten Urban into placability with regard to conditions. But the indulgences promised to crusaders against Manfred had collected an army of adventurers of all nations, though mostly French; and at their head, Charles's son-in-law, Earl Robert of Flanders, entered Italy. Towards achieving the object of the Crusade, the conquest of Apulia and Sicily, he, indeed, did little; but he acted vigorously against the Ghibelines in northern Italy, and against the invaders of the Papal territories, until his success was stopped by an incident unusual, though not unprecedented, in crusading annals.<sup>(160)</sup> These crusaders appear to have been chiefly mercenaries, who expected regular pay as well as spiritual rewards; and when they found Urban unwilling, and Earl Robert unable, to supply the requisite funds, they dispersed; the larger part returning home dissatisfied.

An attempt to wrest Rome from Charles's deputy-Senator, was about this time planned by Giordano d'Anglone, and Pietro di Vico,—one of the most powerful barons of the Roman See, who had been Manfred's

deputy during his senatorship—in co-operation with the Ghibelines in the city. It failed, from some defect either in arrangement or in punctuality. Vico, at the head of his vassals, effected his entrance, before either d'Anglone had arrived to support him, or his friends within the walls were ready to receive him. Finding himself, therefore, with a mere handful amidst the hostile faction, he was glad to make his way safely out again.

Notwithstanding these mischances, Manfred's success was still sufficient to alarm the Pope, whose hopes the disappearance of the crusading army had cruelly disappointed. He addressed vehement complaints to the Earl of Anjou and Provence, relative to the expense of the war, and his own embarrassments, pecuniary and political; declaring that, did the future King not arrive at the head of an army before Michaelmas, he must adopt a different course. In addition to other annoyances, Urban was under personal apprehensions. He dreaded, if besieged at Orvieto, to be betrayed by the Orvietans into Manfred's hands; and departed in haste for Perugia, which he deemed a safer residence. Upon the road, he was taken ill, and, upon the 2d of October, 1264, the day after his arrival at Perugia, Urban IV died. A comet had been visible from July till September, "with fear of change perplexing monarchs;" and the opinion now generally adopted was, that it had both foreboded the death of the Pope, and proclaimed the divine disapprobation of his rancorous persecution of the heroic Swabian dynasty of Emperors; a persecution so entirely objectless since the death of Conrad IV, as to be attributable only to personal prejudice and passion. But, prior to finally dismissing this unamiable, though talented Pope, the praise to which he is entitled must be given him. A genuine patron and lover of learning, Urban, disregarding the strictness of papal ceremonial, invited philosophers to his table, making them engage in logical contests for his instruction or amusement; and he employed Thomas Aquinas, surnamed the Angelic Doctor, to write commentaries upon Aristotle,<sup>(161)</sup> probably with the view of correcting the non-Christian notions of the Heathen Sage,—whom Gre-

gory IX had vainly endeavoured to exclude from universities and schools—into fitness for the study of Christians.

Those, who had beheld in the comet a herald of divine displeasure, flattered themselves that a new Pope would adopt a more lenient policy; and the Conclave took four months to decide who this new Pope should be. But fear of Manfred's revenge for the persecutions he had undergone, appears to have been the dominant feeling, at least of the majority of Urban's newly created Cardinals, mostly his countrymen; whence their deliberations eventuated in the triumph of the Guelphs and the French party. Upon the 5th of February, 1265, they elected the son—according to some, of a Toulouse lawyer, according to others,—of a second-rate Toulouse nobleman, named Foulcaud. The new Pope, not being originally intended for the Church, had in his youth studied law at Paris; where he so distinguished himself as a jurist, that Lewis IX made him a Privy Councillor, and employed him in many weighty affairs. During this period he had married very happily; but, losing his wife, the passionate depth of his grief impelled him to abandon the world for the gloomy solitude—solitude amidst a brotherhood!—of a Carthusian monastery. This step naturally enhanced the saintly monarch's value for his former Councillor, who was not permitted to bury his talent in a cell. He was successively raised to the dignities of Bishop of Puy, Archbishop of Narbonne, and Cardinal of Sta. Sabina; was employed by both the French King and the Pope upon many arduous missions, and always found equal to his task. At the moment of his election, one of these missions had taken him to England, where he learnt his awful exaltation.

That the papacy in those times was a heavy burthen, none could be more thoroughly aware than the Cardinal of Sta. Sabina. Fain would he have declined it; not in the affected humility of the established *Nolo episcopari*, but honestly shrinking from the arduous duties, the heavy responsibility, weighing upon the spiritual Head of Christendom. And, though he did accept the fearfully lofty office, with all those duties and responsibilities, his regret-



ful anxiety in so doing, is apparent in a letter, written by him soon afterwards to one of his nephews, part of which may not inappropriately be here inserted. The new Pope says: "Whilst others are rejoicing at my elevation, I feel the immensity of the burthen laid upon me; and what awakens joy in others, awakens in me only fear and anxiety. That thou mayst know how to behave upon this occasion, I say unto thee, be yet humbler than heretofore, for I will not suffer my family to exult in an event that so depresses me, or to forget that the honours of this world are transient as morning dew. Come not to me, neither thou nor any of my relations, without my express command; for he, who should, would find himself disappointed, and return home crest-fallen. Seek not for thy sister a husband above her station; only if she marries the son of an ordinary knight, will I endow her with a portion of 300 marks; if ye aspire higher, ye get no penny for her from me. Ye must live and act as if I were still a poor priest. Thou must solicit for none; from none accept money for thy good word; for to do otherwise would but shame thee and thy favoured petitioner."<sup>(162)</sup>

The newly elected Pope did not at once assume, as might be expected, the insignia of his exalted office, and journey towards Rome, with the dignity befitting the Head of the Church—though not triumphantly, like Alexander III and Innocent IV, men of another temper—acting, from the first, in that sacred character. But he is said to have entertained apprehensions, according to some writers, of so general an indisposition to the Guelph cause, according to others of emissaries of Manfred's, as would render such a papal progress dangerous. Such truculent animosity he was not disposed to encounter; and, far from setting forth as Pope, exchanged even his cardinal's hat for the monk's cowl: in this lowly but still ecclesiastical garb, he travelled, until safely housed at Perugia, which he, like Urban, preferred as a residence, for the moment, at least, to Rome.

There he was consecrated; and, as Clement IV, assumed the dignity and the responsibility of a successor of St. Peter; and, simultaneously, this practical teacher of Christian humility, adopted the ambition and the enmities

of Innocent IV, Alexander IV, and Urban IV. Neglecting the Holy Land, where one after another of the few remaining possessions of the Christians was daily falling into the hands of the Mohammedans or of Idolaters, regardless of Mongol hordes that still threatened Hungary, still harassed Poland, whilst domineering over Russia, he devoted his time and thoughts to the destruction of Manfred. In order to promote Charles of Anjou's unjust enterprise, he enjoined his Legates everywhere rigorously to exact the tenth of all ecclesiastical incomes, for defraying the expense of a new crusade against Manfred. In France the demand was now promptly complied with; in other countries it was resisted; and in Scotland, King Alexander III, with the concurrence of his clergy, excluded the Legate sent to enforce the exaction, from his kingdom.

That long projected expedition was now really begun. In February, 1265, whilst Clement was upon his road to Italy, Charles at length agreed with Cardinal Simone respecting the terms—in other words submitted to the conditions—upon which the Pope would invest him with the two Sicilies.<sup>(163)</sup> Pending the negotiation he had, by papal grants, loans, and his wife's exertions and sacrifices, raised a sum of money sufficient for the most urgent necessities of his armament. He had likewise collected troops. By the promise of fiefs in the fair South, he had lured many of his own, as of Beatrice's vassals, to support him in his enterprise. She had induced some nobles to declare themselves her knights, and, in that character, undertake the adventure of winning her a queenly crown. And, again, the prospect of easily earning spiritual indulgences, had drawn together a considerable body of crusaders. But still Charles deemed his numbers insufficient; and, his bargain sealed, he repaired to the French court to try the power of a brother's prayers, in addition to a Pope's remonstrances—aided, it is averred, by liberal bribes to the whole court—upon the mind of Lewis IX. And influence they had; he still refused to assist in, or sanction, the attempt upon Conradin's heritage; but he did not prevent the acceptance of his brother's offers, by his knights or nobles. Charles thus obtained very important accession

of force. According to some historians, Lewis, anxious to occupy so dangerously ambitious a prince out of France, even supplied him with the money he still wanted.<sup>(164)</sup>

But still the Earl of Anjou and Provence did not feel himself strong enough to defeat and break through the Ghibelines of northern Italy, so as to reach Rome by the time Urban had appointed ; whilst he was deeply impressed with the urgent need of his yet earlier presence there, both to secure, as Senator, the fidelity of the ever-mutable Romans, and to counteract Manfred's unremitting efforts to achieve his reconciliation with the Pope. He resolved therefore to proceed thither by sea, with only an escort of about 1000 knights, leaving the army—which is variously estimated at from 5000 horse and 25,000 foot, to 40,000 and even 60,000 men—to cross the Alps under the command of Earl Robert of Flanders, with Gilles le Brun, Constable of France, for his Counsellor ; Guy de Montfort, Earl Simon's grandson, joining them soon afterwards, obtained the separate command of the cavalry. He himself, quitting Paris upon the 5th of April, hastened with his thousand knights to Marseilles, which city, as also Arles, previously republics, vassals of the Empire, he had reduced to the condition of his subjects,<sup>(165)</sup> and there his fleet awaited him.

At Marseilles he found various pieces of undesirable intelligence. One, that an officer, whom, as his harbinger, he had sent with a very small troop to Rome, having imprudently attacked the Ghibelines there, had been defeated, taken, and sent prisoner to Apulia. Another, that Manfred was actively preparing for defence ; raising troops, obstructing the mouth of the Tiber, and, in Tuscany, whither he had lately gone, winning "golden opinions from all sorts of people," winning even the Guelphs to his side, by the justice tempered with mercy of his government. The last and worst, was that the united Sicilian and Pisan fleets, amounting to eighty sail, were at sea, for the purpose of intercepting his passage, should he attempt the voyage thence to the mouth of the Tiber. For his defence against these eighty vessels he had only twenty ; and all his friends and counsellors dissuaded him from incurring so great a risk as the sea voyage. But Charles knew that, whilst a rapid

land journey was impossible, delay was pregnant with certain evils, far outweighing the uncertain danger of inability to elude an enemy upon the broad bosom of the Mediterranean.

He embarked with a fair wind; by steering a very eccentric course, eluded, as he had hoped to do, the combined fleets, and flattered himself he had escaped all the perils with which he had been threatened; when the prospect, was suddenly overshadowed; a storm drove him from the projected track, dispersing his squadron, and so shattering his own ship, that she was compelled to seek temporary shelter with only two others, in Porto Pisano. Intelligence of his exposed situation was quickly conveyed to Pisa, where Conte Guido Novello, who appears to have succeeded to the Conte d'Anglone as Manfred's Lieutenant in Tuscany, was then stationed; and he, with his Germans, was hastening to capture his sovereign's worst enemy, when one of the untoward accidents, often baffling projects apparently certain to succeed, prevented his thus ending the war at a blow. The Pisans, selfishness overpowering their loyalty, closed their gates against his egress, demanding, as the price of opening them, various privileges and prerogatives, which he could hardly have authority to grant. At all events, the time lost in the discussion enabled Charles to put to sea again. Thus the ever Ghibeline Pisa caused the destruction of the monarchs to whom she was faithfully attached. She had ample cause to repent of her narrow policy, having sunk, with the decline of the Ghibelines, when, by the downfall of the Swabian Emperors, deprived of Imperial support, into insignificance, the Guelph Florence rising upon her ruins. But to Manfred, this future retribution for the disastrous results of Pisa's bargain driving was not to afford even prospective atonement.

Far within the time prefixed by Urban, as early as the 21st of May, Charles of Anjou was in sight of Rome; and the Eternal City being then Guelph, he was met by nearly the whole population, male and female, and escorted in procession to the Capitol. There, with all imaginable rites and ceremonies that could enhance the dignity of the office, he was installed in his senatorship. The Pope,

having no confidence in the Guelphism of the Romans, nor perhaps much in the honour of the vassal-King selected by Popes, did not meet him; but charged a deputation of Cardinals with the final arrangement of every preliminary to his investiture with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and consequent coronation. Charles's actual presence at Rome, in possession of senatorial authority and hourly expecting his army, procured him some modification of the terms upon which he was to receive the grant. Clement agreed to the crown's continuing to be heritable in the female as well as the male line, and, should Charles leave no children, by one of his brothers; but by no more distant relation, and amongst Charles's own descendants, he limited the right of collateral succession to the fourth degree of consanguinity. But on the other hand the stipulations concerning the money payments, on which point he most distrusted his future vassal, were made more stringent, since, if excommunication and interdict failed to produce the desired effect within six months, the kingdom was to be *ipso facto*, forfeited. Charles was likewise restrained from making treaties with Mohammedans, heretics, or any enemies of the Church.

This treaty was concluded in the first week of Charles's sojourn in Rome, but months elapsed before it was ratified by the Pope, who saw much to displease him in the Earl's conduct. He was dissatisfied at his being unaccompanied by an army, and insufficiently provided with money—which looks not as if Lewis had, from any motive, good or bad, supplied him. He was irritated by the cool insolence displayed, prior to the arrival of Charles himself, by his deputy Senator, in demanding, not requesting, pecuniary supplies from the papal exchequer, found empty by Clement, and not yet replenished; and sorely was he offended at the presumption that impelled Charles, notwithstanding the opposition of the proper officers, to take up his quarters in the Lateran. The Sovereign Pontiff is said at this time to have repeatedly expressed a wish, that the Earl had declined an enterprise, evidently beyond his means; but he would not break with him, though he would neither see him, nor by ratifying the treaty, commit himself.

Whilst Charles was waiting at Rome for his troops and

his investiture, Manfred, however mortified at the twofold escape of his enemy, was active as ever in preparing for his reception. He would not besiege him in Rome, lest the consequent inconveniences to the inhabitants should wholly alienate the Romans; but he strove by repeated inroads and alarms to provoke him to an action, or at least, to a skirmish in the field. Charles was too wary to incur the smallest useless risk, or to fight without either necessity or advantage. Disappointed in this, somewhat idle hope, Manfred now contented himself with guarding the mountain passes between his dominions and the Pope's; arranging similar measures in regard to the Alps, with trusty friends in Northern Italy; and striving, by amicable negotiations and great liberality, to gain new allies throughout the peninsula. Hence, a glance at the state of Lombardy, at this time, must precede the march of the Provençal army.

At the Eastern extremity, Venice, though interfering but little with Italian politics, had generally favoured the Guelphs. Latterly, her attention had been nearly absorbed by her rivalry with Genoa, in the Levant, and by her struggles both to preserve her acquisitions made in the fourth Crusade, and, if not to retain all the privileges enjoyed during the Latin eastern partnership sovereignty, at least to participate in those granted to Genoa. The principal part taken by Venice in the conquest of Constantinople, her consequent intimate alliance with its Latin Emperors, her continued possession of so many Greek territories, and even the title still borne by the Doge of Signore of Three Eighths of the Eastern Empire,<sup>(166)</sup> naturally indisposed the Greek Emperor Michael, towards this powerful republic. But a short experience convinced him, that the competition of two or more commercial states, even should one of them be hostilely disposed towards himself, would be preferable to the monopoly of his subjects' trade, enjoyed even by a friend. With respect to trade, therefore, he, in 1265, placed Venice and Pisa upon a level with Genoa, allowed them factories in Constantinople, and recognised the right of Venice to her possessions in the Morea and the islands, subject of course to his own sovereignty. Naturally, such an

arrangement did not interrupt the incessant affrays between the Venetian and Genoese fleets; and this continuous warfare with the Guelph Genoa, gradually alienating Venice from that faction, she willingly concluded a treaty with Manfred, by which she engaged never to grant his enemies a passage; upon condition that Sicilian ships should never bring Sicilian produce, except to Venice, beyond a line upon the Adriatic, marked by Ancona on one shore, and Zara on the other; nor foreign produce even to Venice, without paying heavy duties.

Genoa, though her professed Guelphism sufficed to make Venice Ghibeline, had, since the death of Innocent IV, scarcely concerned herself with Italian politics. What attention the citizens could spare, from strife with Venice and their own mercantile affairs, was engrossed by civil, or rather civic, broils. In 1257, Boccanegro, a noble, had, by courting the lower orders, obtained the post of Capitano del Popolo for ten years, hampered, indeed, by association with a sort of Council, of thirty-two Anziani, selected from the different traders. But he speedily shook off their control, possessing himself of such absolute power, that he tyrannized over nobles, consuls, and podestàs, laughed at the decrees of the Great Council, arbitrarily disposed of offices, dictated verdicts to the legal tribunals, and contracted alliances by his private authority. At length the hatred, which the higher classes had long borne him, was shared by the lower, and, in 1262, the resentment he had provoked, proved fatal to Boccanegro. But upon his fall the feuds and broils, that his despotism had coerced into quiescence, broke out afresh. The lowering of the urban fortresses of nobles and wealthy merchants, which had been one of his beneficial if despotic acts could not save the city from renewed distraction; the Grimaldi, on one side, contending against the Fieschi, d'Orias, and Spinolas, on the other, until a Spinola became Capitano del Popolo, with power similar to Boccanegro's. Then followed a tyranny likewise similar to his; weariness of which, in 1265, produced a compromise between the hostile factions, which did not prove longer lived than such compromises usually were. Genoa, under

such circumstances, though no friend, could hardly be called an enemy, to Manfred.

Strange as it seems, after the important part played by Milanese Guelphism in these pages, Manfred was not without well-grounded hopes that Milan might oppose the passage of his enemies from Provence. A variety of circumstances had, since Frederic II's death, concurred to alter the political bias of that ambitious, and despotic, city. The prosperous citizens, habituating themselves more and more to wage, through hired mercenaries, the wars in which they delighted, in 1259, engaged Marchese Palavicino, as their Captain-General for five years. He, then Lord of Cremona, and one of the most powerful Lombard nobles, brought, of course, a respectable body of his own troops to the service of his employers. He was still, despite the temporary aberration, provoked by anger at Ezzelino, innately and intrinsically a Ghibeline, and the influence he gradually acquired in the city, gave his opinions a weight which there was now little or nothing to counteract. Since the fall of the Romanos had disappointed the hopes of the Milanese refugees, they had sunk into such helplessness, that the irritation of the triumphant Guelph party had subsided. Manfred was no Emperor claiming sovereignty over Lombardy; and the Popes had deeply offended Martino della Torre. Alexander IV had refused to sanction the election of another Torre, Martino's brother, to the archiepiscopal see of Milan; and Urban IV had gone further; wroth at the engagement of Palavicino, a Ghibeline, tolerant of heretics,<sup>(167)</sup> certainly, and a suspected Paterene, he consecrated Otho Visconti to the see. The Visconti, whose power had long been gradually increasing, were the only family Martino feared as rivals. One Eliprando, having in the eleventh century been appointed *Vice comes* of Milan, his grandson Guido, A.D. 1142, assumed the Italian form of that title as his patronymic, and the Archbishop was this first Visconti's grandson. The Pope's preference of a Visconti, disposing Martino to desert a party so little grateful for his support, all prosecution of heretics immediately ceased; and this retaliation of offence was visited



by excommunication. Disputes arose, however, betwixt Martino and Palavicino as was to be expected; nor were they extinguished by the death of the former, in 1263. Martino was succeeded by his brother Filippo, who, strong in such an appearance of established, hereditary sovereignty, first ventured to assume the title of *Signor Perpetuo*, or Permanent Lord, of Milan. The next year Palavicino's term of service expired, and Filippo dismissed him. But the installation of Archbishop Otho, to whom all the nobles at once attached themselves, somewhat cramping his authority, kept his resentment against the papacy alive; and, in 1265, he seemed to be quite undetermined as to which side he should take in the impending contest.

Palavicino, after quitting the service of Milan, remained the independent Lord of several towns in western Lombardy, and Manfred's cordial friend. In the eastern portion, Martino della Scala, Lord of Verona, had subjugated divers neighbouring towns, and seemed likely both to succeed to the authority of Ezzelino, and, through greater moderation, to hold it more securely and permanently. He likewise was a firm ally of Manfred's, and expelled all Guelphs from his territories. Tuscany was, it will be remembered, in some measure subject to the King of Sicily.

But the monarch had one bitter and active enemy amongst the Italian magnates. This was Obizzo d'Este, grandson and heir of the last Azzo, and, if hardly more ambitious, far more ardently Guelph than his predecessor. The grandfather's Guelphism, being little more than envy and hatred of the Romanos, evaporated with their power; the grandson had married another niece of Innocent IV's, and his was a fiery Guelph zeal, unallayed by the Romano blood of his mother. In Rome, upon the 26th of August, Obizzo d'Este signed a treaty with Charles of Anjou, by which he undertook for the passage of the Provençal army through Lombardy; the Earl and Marquess further agreeing jointly to declare war against Manfred, Palavicino, and Buoso da Doara, and pledging themselves not to make peace separately. Obizzo prevailed upon the Marquess of Montferrat and upon Mantua to join the alliance, as did several cities, former members of the Lombard League.

The smaller nobles and towns followed in the wake of their mightier neighbours.

Manfred had sent troops to co-operate with Palavicino and Doara in the defence of the mountain passes, which they had undertaken to guard. But, in the reigning family of Savoy, Manfred's father-in-law and brother-in-law, Amedeo and Bonifazio, were dead, and Conte Filippo, Amedeo's next surviving brother, was well pleased to see his niece, Countess Beatrice, Queen of Sicily. The Piedmontese passes, therefore, the nearest, were open to the Provençal army, and it was not until his troops should actually be in Italy, that Charles apprehended their encountering opposition. And this also he flattered himself that his active negotiations, during his seemingly inactive sojourn in Rome, had now obviated.

Palavicino, an able man, saw, not only the imminent calamities, but apparently the long enduring evils, the sad and degrading lot menacing the fair land of his birth and his affections, from this new and utterly unjustifiable invasion of southern Italy by the Gauls. Zealously he laboured to avert the destiny he anticipated. He repeatedly implored King Lewis to prevent his brother's lawless aggression upon an excellent monarch and a happy country. He exhorted all Italians to forget the rivalries and animosities, that might be termed family quarrels, and combine against the impending danger. He told them that, so soon as the French should once have successfully poured down, in a devastating torrent, from the Alps, over the fair and fertile Southern region, their greedy appetite for its fruits and wealth, their innate, insatiable rapacity, would stimulate the invading nation to incessant repetitions of such inroads. That, in lieu of the German emperors, who, though not without right to the sovereignty they claimed, were often execrated for their intervention in Italian affairs, the French, as full of levity as they were impetuous and selfish, would force themselves upon Italy, a greater evil, taking the place of a lesser; then the Germans would oppose the French, and the peninsula be either destroyed, as the theatre of their wars, or successively, if not simultaneously, enthralled by both. But when, in the most enlightened times, did far-sighted, political wisdom,

obtain a hearing amidst the clamour of faction? Enough to say, Palavicino's warnings fell upon deaf ears, and the Guelphs assisted the French invaders, as determinedly as the Ghibelines prepared to resist them.

To meet friend and foe, those invaders were now hastening. In June, of this same year, 1265, the Provençal troops were joined by the French knights, whom Lewis had permitted to swell the ranks of his rapacious brother. The army, thus completed, seems to have numbered 40,000 men; "and only, therefore," says a modern Italian writer, "were they denominated an army, and not a band of robbers."<sup>(168)</sup> But of these robbers, as he calls them, some were of the highest nobility, as the Earls of Vendôme and Soissons, Marshal de Mirepoix, the Bishop of Auxerre, not to speak of that first of French functionaries, the Constable; and of these many bore crosses on their cloaks, as though they had been in arms to redeem the Holy Sepulchre from misbelievers, not to despoil a Christian prince, extinguishing the last hope of a helpless boy, whom their revered monarch deemed unjustly dispossessed of his birthright.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MANFRED.

*Provençal Arms in Italy—Ghibeline Treachery—Coronation of Charles and Beatrice—Manfred's Preparations—Invasion of Apulia—Treachery of Nobles—Passage of the Garigliano—Battle of Benevento—Fate of Manfred—Treatment of his Family—of Prisoners in general.* [1265—1266.]

THE Provençal host of crusaders and adventurers took its way by Savoy, and, finding the Alpine passes open, poured down into Piedmont, without having seen a shadow of the opposition which Manfred hoped that he had provided. At Turin, where they arrived unmolested, the Marquess of Saluzzo did homage for his marquesate to the triumphant representative of Charles, but whether as the Earl of Provence, or as the future King of Sicily, who had solemnly abjured all suzerainty over, or interference with, central and northern Italy, seems uncertain. The towns that had professed neutrality, hastened to meet the invader's advance, with their submission. At Asti, the naturally Ghibeline, Marquess of Montferrat, joined them with his troops; Vercelli was taken by storm; the passage of the Sesia forced; and even the Lancias, usually powerful in those parts, and of course zealous for their royal nephew, deemed resistance in Piedmont, which one of the family had gone thither to organize, hopeless. Upon the Ticino the invaders halted to await the result of negotiations at Genoa and Milan.

The Provençal envoys despatched to Genoa were commissioned, by large offers of participation in all expected conquests, to purchase, if possible, her co-operation. But the Genoese, whose forefathers had thus been duped

by Henry VI, were unwilling to embroil themselves with either party, and returned a civil answer, declining the proposal, but implying, if not promising neutrality; thus relieving the dread of a formidable enemy in the rear. Milan still hesitated which side to take, the Signor Perpetuo and the Archbishop alternately prevailing. During eleven days the Provençal envoys vainly awaited their answer.

The southern French are, avowedly, the most impetuous of the impetuous French nation. The invaders could control their impatience no longer; and, reckless of what Milan might ultimately resolve, crossed the Ticino, entered upon her territory, and advanced to the Oglio. The passage of this river, Palavicino, in concert with Buoso da Doara, was prepared to dispute, having collected for that purpose all the Ghibelines within reach, in addition to Manfred's troops. He had taken up his position at Soncino, his right flank covered by Brescia, his left by Cremona; and he hoped to defeat the enemy, how numerous soever, should he attempt to force the bridge. The invaders paused, as shrinking from this step, and Palavicino was strong in hope, but he had a traitor for his colleague. Buoso da Doara is believed to have been corrupted by either the gold of Charles—habitually employed rather to bribe enemies than to pay troops—or by his large promises; and he damped the spirit of enterprise, delaying every movement, whilst communicating every project to the hostile leaders.<sup>(169)</sup> Although delay is usually the true policy of the invaded state, the peculiar circumstances of the case reversed this maxim. The loss of time, thus caused, enabled the Marquess of Este and the Legate to assemble a large Guelph force at Mantua, upon Palavicino's flank, if not quite in his rear. The invaders, apprised of the position of their friends, making a movement to their left, crossed the Oglio a little above Soncino, where its defence was committed to Buoso, who offered no opposition. Este advanced simultaneously; and Palavicino, greatly outnumbered, and in danger of being surrounded, was obliged to shelter his troops behind the walls of Cremona. In the signory of this city, Buoso was his

colleague; but of his colleague's subsequently detected treachery, he entertained no suspicion.

The hostile army now marched on unimpeded. To avoid the resistance that must have been encountered in Tuscany, the leaders—keeping clear of Venice—passed over to the eastern side of Italy, where Guelph views were predominant, and the house of Este supreme. They thus proceeded unopposed southwards, but did not reach Rome till near Christmas. The army had, upon its march, clearly discovered its character, and, its purpose of living upon Italy, or, in modern phraseology, making the war defray itself. The troops had treated the friendly country through which the route, for the most part, lay, as though hostile, everywhere levying oppressive contributions, and ill-using the inhabitants, the clergy not excepted. At Cavrioli, where the municipal authorities had executed a soldier for some act of marauding violence, the whole population, men, women, and children, were, in retaliation, put to the sword. On all sides complaints of intolerable outrage resounded, and Clement addressed earnest remonstrances to Charles, against his tolerance of a licentiousness, so unbecoming the character of Crusaders, of Champions of the Church, or of Christians.

Remonstrances were necessarily unavailing. To the most humane and most energetic of commanders, the task of maintaining strict discipline amongst ill-paid troops has always proved difficult, if not impossible; and Charles of Anjou was nearly as destitute of money, as of humanity; whilst his deputed commanders appear equally deficient in energy and in authority—to him who was nominally supreme, Earl Robert, little if any power being, as before said, intrusted. Accordingly, the ravenous Provençal adventurers and French volunteer auxiliaries continued to plunder and maltreat, not only in the Campagna, but in the Eternal City itself, as lawlessly as elsewhere. Thus, although to Charles, involved in ever renewed dissensions with the Pope, upon questions relative both to pecuniary concerns and to authority in the Papal capital, the arrival of his army brought very material support and alleviation of embarrassments, the relief was not without drawbacks.

Clement waxed more and more wroth, his reproofs and complaints more and more bitter; and the French prince, who, moreover, knew not how long he might be able to keep his heterogeneous host together, judged that it was time to quit Rome,—time, notwithstanding the winter season, to prosecute his enterprise. But he likewise judged the receiving investiture of the Sicilies from the Pope, as Lord Paramount, indispensable, prior to invading the kingdom. Ever since his arrival, he had been urging Clement to come to Rome and crown him, and the Holy Father evading compliance with his entreaties, by alleging, first, his fear of the insalubrity of Rome in summer, and, then his reluctance to trust himself in the hands of the Romans: he was, perhaps, yet more reluctant to incur the ridicule of crowning a pretender, who came, apparently, single-handed, to conquer a kingdom. If this last, unavowed, objection were removed by the presence of the army, another was created; the total want of discipline amongst the champions of the papacy very decidedly increasing the Pope's reluctance to visit Rome; which his desire for an interview with a selected vassal, whose whole conduct had hitherto been dissatisfactory to him, could not counter-balance. He however acknowledged the propriety of giving his public formal sanction to the invasion, by the coronation of the chosen king; and refusing now more pertinaciously than ever to risk a visit to Rome, amidst Crusaders and citizens, he appointed five Cardinals as conjointly representing him, to officiate at the ceremony. By these Cardinals, Charles and Beatrice—who had joined him in September—were, in St. Peter's Basilica, solemnly crowned King and Queen of the Two Sicilies, upon the 6th of January, 1266. In gratitude for this decisive act, the former spontaneously promised a yearly gift of 50 oz. of gold to the Basilica of St. Peter, in addition to his yearly tribute.

It was the end of the month, before Charles, after receiving from the Cardinals absolution for all past sins, quitted Rome to lead his army against Manfred. The restored amity betwixt the priestly protector and the royal protégé was but ephemeral. During the last weeks of Charles's residence at the Lateran, as well as upon his

subsequent march to the Apulian frontier, the total want of discipline in his army, together with his own perfect indifference to the outrages committed by his troops, and disregard of Clement's complaints, remonstrances, and injunctions, had thoroughly alienated him from the chosen champion of his predecessor. So completely was he disgusted with Charles, that, even at the risk of seeming to censure his predecessor, he, upon the 21st of February, proposed to the consistory, as a question for discussion, whether it might not still be best to treat with Manfred, making his solemn abjuration of heresy, the single indispensable condition of his reconciliation with the Church and recognition as King of the Sicilies. That this more Christian idea of the line of conduct, befitting the spiritual Head of Christendom, even occurred to the Holy Father, may perhaps be allowed some weight in considering the credit due to the accusations heaped upon Manfred; that it occurred too late to be acted upon, was the King's misfortune, assuredly not his fault, for never had he relaxed his endeavours to obtain relief from excommunication. Even during his rival's sojourn at Rome, he had envoys at the Papal court soliciting, as a favour, a trial, and consequent relief from, or confirmation of the anathema under which he lay. They were further commissioned to treat, if possible, with the rival in person, and visited him at the Lateran for this purpose: but the only answer they received from him, was: "Tell the Sultan of Nocera, that I shall send him to hell or he me to heaven."<sup>(170)</sup>

When Manfred saw the many obstacles, by which he had hoped to impede the invader's progress through northern and central Italy, sink before Charles's craft and skill, he recalled his scattered troops from the Pope's dominions, and devoted his attention wholly to the defence of his frontier. The mountain range, which, running from the shore of the Adriatic to the western coast, severs the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the territory of the Church, formed a barrier insuperable, save in a very few places, to an army. Of these few passes two only, those of Tagliacozzo and Ceperano, were conveniently situated for Charles. Both of these Manfred diligently fortified, but



especially the latter, which he judged the most likely to be attempted. Whilst these measures were in progress, he established his head quarters at Benevento, as a point well suited for the general superintendence of all necessary defensive operations; and thither he summoned the great vassals of the kingdom, with deputies from the provinces and towns, and the leaders of his German and Italian mercenaries. When assembled, he is said to have harangued them; showing the necessity of unanimity and combined exertion against the invaders, by pointing out the consequences of their success: viz., the improbability that an usurper should, when the monarch was overthrown, leave the subjects in quiet possession of estates, which he must needs want for the remuneration of the greedy adventurers, to whose swords he would be indebted for his conquest; an improbability, converted into a certainty, by the invader's own character, and that which his army was displaying in the territories of friends; thus ending: "Let us then, for our common interest, our common rights, our common honour, manfully resist insolent injustice; let us, upon this, their first attempt, scare away from these madly rapacious Frenchmen, and scare away for ever, the notion that they, at their will and pleasure, can enthrall the independent kings and states of our beautiful Italy."

These glowing words were answered with enthusiastic cheers; and Manfred, relying upon the cordial co-operation of his people, dismissed the assembly, to do, each man his own part, towards the defence of his country, and the repulse of the invaders. But seldom have appearances been more delusive. Letters, emissaries, promises, on the part of Charles, on the Pope's, representations of Manfred's imputed crimes, irreligion, usurpation, and disobedience to his liege Lord, had long been at work amongst all classes, not least amongst the higher; and they had not worked in vain. If in the majority of cheerers the enthusiasm was genuine, in few only was it efficient or enduring: in too many nothing more than an evanescent reflexion of the eloquence of passion, and in some altogether fictitious; a mask, behind which lurked treason, self-justified by bigotry and superstition.

Manfred had fixed upon Capua, as the point upon which the force of the kingdom should collect, as being a central position, whence succours could be readily sent whithersoever needed. But very slowly the troops congregated, some through sheer dilatory habits, some in non-appreciation of a danger that seemed remote, as from Calabria and Sicily ; others through treachery, or the leaders' fear of committing themselves, in case of the worst. Nevertheless, body after body of men gradually came in. Charles, meanwhile, was advancing by Frosinone towards Ceperano. Manfred, however disturbed at the smallness of the army that he could as yet bring into the field, and at his consequent inability to encounter the far stronger foe, was under no apprehension for that well-guarded as momentous pass. Of the two fortresses that defended and commanded it, San Germano, protected by mountains on one side, on the other by morasses, was abundantly garrisoned, armed, and victualled ; whilst Rocca d'Arce, if less strong by nature, was equally well provided. The bridge over the Garigliano he had committed, with the very flower of the Apulian army, to his uncle, Conte Giordano Lancia, and his brother-in-law, Ricciardo Conte di Caserta, whose large estates lay upon that frontier.

Could arrangements be better made, commanders for the most critical post better chosen ? It is asserted that a knowledge of the King's judicious measures, together with the aspect of the local and physical difficulties presented by the high piled rocks, the deep and rapid river, and the strongly guarded bridge, shook the confidence of the adventurers. But even here had corruption been at work. Caserta had given ear to the offers of Charles ; he was in correspondence with him, and coloured his treachery, even to himself, perhaps as to his seducer, by professing jealousy of the warm affection subsisting between Manfred and his sister Violante,—who for seventeen years had been Countess of Caserta,—suspicions that theirs was not a fraternal but a criminal affection. Had such jealousy been suspected by the accused parties or their friends, or Manfred been conscious of giving cause for resentment, Caserta would hardly have been selected for so important a post, or trusted, as it will be seen he was, by Lancia.<sup>(171)</sup> But whether

really jealous, or impelled to his breach of trust solely by French gold and French promises, Caserta certainly undertook to open the bridge to Charles; and made use of his superior military reputation to delude his unsuspecting colleague, Lancia, into acquiescence in the preliminary steps.

Upon the 6th of February, 1266, Caserta represented to Lancia, that by merely guarding the bridge they could not even weaken the enemy, whom they desired to annihilate; that they were merely protracting the war, and, perhaps, giving Charles time to discover some other, less securely defended, entrance into the kingdom; whilst by suffering part of the hostile army to cross unopposed, and then falling upon that detached portion, they could cut them off to a man. Lancia yielded to the admitted strategy of a colleague, whose fidelity he dreamt not of mistrusting. As corps after corps passed the bridge, he vehemently urged Caserta to begin the slaughter; but for awhile was put off with the remark, that to effect their purpose they must wait until so many should have crossed, as to make their destruction a crippling blow to Charles. Then, when Lancia's patience was quite exhausted, suddenly exclaiming that the numbers on their side of the river were an overmatch for their force, he fled with his vassals and his division of the army. Lancia, thus deserted, felt himself so really overmatched by those who had already crossed, that to attempt resistance would be idly throwing away the lives of men, who might elsewhere be efficiently useful. He therefore retreated in the best order he could, to join Manfred. Charles made no pursuit; well satisfied to be master of this, reputed inexpugnable, pass, without the loss of a man; and well aware, moreover, that the two fortresses must be taken ere he advanced another step.

To these he now directed his attention and seized Rocca d'Arce by surprise, inasmuch as, relying upon the defence of the bridge, neither commandant nor garrison thought precautions necessary against an enemy, believed to be still beyond the Garigliano. The command of Rocca d'Arce Charles gave to a brother of the Pope—whose family benefited apparently by his elevation to St. Peter's Chair, whether with or without his concurrence—and

turned to San Germano ; but here he paused. His proximity was now known, and his approach prepared for. The Governor proved as inaccessible to corruption, as were his walls to assault, and doubt and hesitation prevailed in the invader's camp. But fortune favoured Charles, where bribery failed him. Betwixt the Christians and Mohammedans in the mixed garrison, dissensions had arisen from the moment of their being shut up together ; which, if they did not lessen their common hatred and contempt for the crusading enemies of their King, had probably much to do with the absence of discipline, by which Charles profited. But of benefit from their disorders, he saw little hope, since against him Christians and Mohammedans were united. Scoffs and taunts were exchanged betwixt those who manned the walls, and those who would fain have scaled them, and the mutual exasperation thus produced was at its height, when some horseboys of the Provençal army were observed by the garrison, fetching water from the immediate vicinity of the town. A sudden unauthorized sally was made by a handful of men to capture them ; the masters of the rash water-seekers saw the danger of their servants, and hastened to protect them, whereupon more of the garrison hurried out to support their comrades ; until gradually, on either side, considerable numbers were engaged in the affray. In the confusion of this unpremeditated action, the gate by which the garrison had sallied remained open and inadequately guarded. Vendôme noticed the neglect, and collecting a troop of bold fellows, rushed upon the weak post, overpowered the guard, forced his way in, and whilst holding possession of the gate, planted his banner on the wall directly above it. The sight excited the besiegers as much as it dismayed the besieged. More and more of the assailants poured in through the mastered gate, and the struggle was now within, instead of without the walls. All advantage of position was thus heedlessly sacrificed, and though the Apulians, especially the Saracens, fought most resolutely, they could not, without such advantage, stand against the enormous disparity of numbers, a garrison against an army. Upwards of 1000 of the besieged were slain, ultimately more fled ; and upon the 10th of February, four

days after the passage of the Garigliano, San Germano was lost.<sup>(172)</sup>

Disasters so thoroughly unexpected spread alarm and discouragement through the kingdom. The reputation of the French for superior valour, already a cause of apprehension, was naturally heightened, whilst the outrages committed by the victors, similar to those by which they had, for the moment, alienated so many Italian Guelphs, increased the growing terror. Men, whom desperation should have nerved to stubborn resistance, began to think of conciliating by submission; and many places, the reputed impregnable Gaeta one, opened their gates. Wherever this was done, Charles's deputies received the oaths of allegiance to the vassal-King of the Roman See, and extorted heavy contributions for his service.

But, if his subjects were discouraged, Manfred was not. The line of the Garigliano being lost, he took up that of the Volturno. He improved the fortifications of Capua, and of its bridge over this river; whilst he drew, with all practicable despatch, fresh troops to his new central, and now most important, point. Here there was no treason to undermine strength of position; and Charles was assured, both by his spies, and by the Apulian traitors, that to force the Capuan bridge was impossible. But he was, unluckily, as able a general as Manfred, and did not attempt to take the bull by the horns. He caused the whole neighbouring district to be explored, whilst for some days he remained quietly at San Germano. At length, at a spot high up amidst the mountains, which the extraordinary mildness of the winter left just accessible, by difficult tracks rather than paths, the river was reported fordable. Upon the 15th, Charles received this report, and commenced his mountain march towards the ford of the Volturno, by which he was to turn the King's, otherwise inexpugnable, position.

When Manfred learned this movement, at once seeing, he prepared to baffle, his enemy's design, by quitting Capua, and leading his army forward to Benevento, upon Charles's line of march. This he reached, took up a new position, covering the city, and made his arrangements for receiving the invaders. He had time to complete them;

for the circuitous march proved yet more difficult of execution than was anticipated. The path, which in summer might have presented few obstacles, in the month of February was just not impracticable. The way led amongst and over mountains, by nearly impassable tracks, through a barren, thinly inhabited district, affording food, at this season of the year, neither for man nor for beast. Gradually all baggage was left behind; Charles lost his horses, some literally starved to death for want of forage, others killed for food by his half-famished soldiers. Nor could the weary, hungry troops at night find shelter; but, during almost the whole of this eleven-days' march, slept in the open air, upon the bare ground. Had not fortune again favoured Charles in the unwonted soft temperature of this month of February, of 1266, Manfred would have had little to apprehend from the hostile army at the end of its mountain march.<sup>(173)</sup>

As it was, when, upon the 26th of February, the invaders, after fatigues and hardships scarcely to be endured, reached, about noon, the brow of the last ridge, and looked down upon the plain of Benevento, which, amidst plenty and comfort, they thought to cross, they beheld the Sicilian army awaiting them in battle-array. Vehement dissensions now arose, amongst the Provençal and French leaders, as to the expediency of instantly attacking, or of affording rest to men and horses, by deferring the action until the morrow. Those, who advocated delay, urged the folly of leading troops, faint with hunger and fatigue, against a fresh, well-fed army, evidently far more numerous than they had been taught to expect. Their opponents replied, that if less weary on the morrow, the men would be more hungry, since they *had* breakfasted this morning, but had neither victuals left, nor means of procuring any; and the Constable Le Brun, who—an honest bigot, perhaps the only one in the army—really deemed himself the champion of the Church, exclaimed: “Were I here alone, I would on the instant attack them, in the name of the Holy Christian Church; and in that name should assuredly conquer!”

The boldness of this extravagant fanaticism called forth an answering enthusiastic burst; and Charles, seizing the

opportunity, is reported to have thus addressed his council of leaders :<sup>(174)</sup> "The long wished for day of battle has at last dawned, and we must now conquer or die ! Only because we are conquerors, do the towns and states of Italy receive us with any show of respect ; should we ever be defeated, their ingrained hatred and wonted fickleness would break out anew, and not one of us escape open attack or secret snares ; not one of us ever again behold his distant home. Better to die in battle, honourably and together, than miserably, singly, in disgraceful flight. Fear not your foes ! At Ceperano, where a handful might have withstood myriads, they fled like cowards ; why should they be bolder now ? You are of a race whose renown for valour fills the world with dread ; our enemies are of different blood and country. We fight, as good Christians, in a hallowed cause, and blessed by the Church ; they are of other creeds, bowed down to the earth by the weight of their guilt, and doomed to eternal perdition." Having thus spoken, Charles gave directions touching the order of battle, and conferred knighthood upon several aspirants to its honours, upon some in recompense of past achievements, upon others as a spur to new ones. Then the Bishop of Auxerre, as Legate, solemnly granted the whole army absolution of their sins prospectively, or contingently, that is to say, when they should have expiated them according to his injunction, by gaining a complete victory over the enemy of the Church.

Similar dissensions as to attacking or awaiting attack were held in the royal camp, upon the invader's appearing in sight. Some objected to giving battle before the junction of the reinforcements, daily expected out of Sicily and Calabria, and even then to fighting an enemy who must needs die of hunger, if he could be detained for a few days where he was. Others judged that to cut hungry, weary, sickly troops to pieces would be child's play ; and to endure the devastation of their native land for another day, disgraceful. But it is alleged that such arguments weighed little in the deliberation ; the advice to engage or to procrastinate being mainly determined by the private designs of the several speakers ; by their fidelity to King and country, or their contemplated treachery. Some per-

sons amongst the latter seem scarcely to have disguised their criminal intentions, since they are said to have insolently taunted Manfred with being governed by an astrologer;<sup>(175)</sup> declaring that they held it a more imperative duty to protect their own domains, vassals, and families, than to share in calamities caused by the King's perverse policy, and disobedience to the Holy See; some even telling the monarch that he had better give up the contest and fly.

Deeply must Manfred have felt this disloyalty, in which he could hardly fail to see the fruit of his imperfect title to the crown; of his one unjustifiable, if venial act, accepting the birthright of his infant nephew. But whatever he felt, manfully and royally he answered: "Rather may I die here, as befits a King, than wander, a beggarly fugitive, through foreign lands!" And if, amongst his counsellors, were found too many evil disposed, others there were more worthy of their gallant Sovereign. The Lancias, the Roman, Tebaldo di Annibale, with a few congenial spirits, stood forward, exclaiming: "Lord King, thy life is our life, thy safety our safety. Without thee, nought but infamy and misery await us. For thee will we fight, and this very hour conquer or die!" Enkindled by their honest zeal, many re-echoed the cry, as did the fugitives from San Germano and Ceperano, who felt that they had a blot to efface from their names. And thus, by a burst of sentiment, rather than upon any grounds of strategy or policy, did those, whose interest almost invariably dictates avoidance of a pitched battle and wearying out the enemy; namely the invaded, resolve to engage at once.

Manfred has been much blamed for assenting to this injudicious resolution; and very possibly, disgust at the perfidy he discovered around him, may have given impatience to have his fate decided, the ascendancy over his prudence, or he might fear that delay would give time for such desertion, as must dishearten the whole nation. According to contemporary chroniclers, having so assented, he thus, in a sort of counterpart of Charles's bombast,<sup>(176)</sup> encouraged his troops: "At length our enemies are before us, but where are their renowned strength and beauty? How small and poor are their horses!



How easy must victory be, provided we leave them not time to gain life and vigour in our fair and fertile land! Only the first attack of the French is impetuous and formidable; when they unexpectedly encounter steady resistance, their foolhardy temerity soon gives place to incredible cowardice. And we—let us, as a worthy posterity, recollect the deeds of our progenitors! We, whose ancestors so often vanquished the Gauls,<sup>(177)</sup> can we fear them as adversaries? We, hitherto free and independent, shall we bow down our necks to their tyranny? Shall we prolong a degraded existence with the alms of strangers? Compared with such life, death were a gain; and manfully will we wrest victory from them, or find liberty in death!”

Respecting the numbers on either side, there seems to be no authentic account. Manfred's were computed by the French, and by Guelph writers, who, to enhance their victory, of course made the most of them, at 5000 horse, and 10,000 Saracen archers; infantry, besides these Saracens, is not named in any statement of the composition of the army, though mention of infantry, apparently distinct from them, occurs in the description of the engagement. The cavalry, whatever the amount, Manfred divided into three battles, as such bodies were then called. The first, consisted of his Germans, in whose fidelity he had full confidence, and in whose ranks fought, it is said, as a friend and kinsman, his father's godson—the future Emperor,—Rudolph of Habsburg:<sup>(178)</sup> which, if true, is some presumption that the circumstances, leading to Manfred's acceptance of his nephew's crown, were generally thought much to palliate the deed; since Rudolph as pious as he was chivalrous, would hardly, upon his return from an expiatory crusade against the Prussians, have volunteered offending the Pope, by such support to the treacherous despoiler of his godfather's lawful heir. The command of this body Manfred gave to his uncle, Galvano Lancia. The second, comprising the Lombard and Tuscan Ghibelines was under his uncle Giordano, who was on fire to redeem the shame of having been so unfortunately duped upon the Garigliano. Apulians and Saracens composed the third, at whose head the King placed himself. The Saracen archers, and

whatever more infantry he had, seem to have been apportioned amongst these three bodies of cavalry.

The highest Ghibeline estimate of Charles's army at this date, does not exceed 30,000 men, and this is generally thought an exaggeration ; but the Guelph accounts, that reduce it lowest,<sup>(179)</sup> still make the numbers very superior to Manfred's. This army likewise was divided into three, if not four battles ; the first consisting of French horse under the Maréchal de Mirepoix ; the second, of Provençal horse, under Guy de Montfort ; the third, of Flemings, Brabançons, Picards, and Savoyards, under Earl Robert and his military tutor, the Constable Le Brun ;—their delegated supreme command of course ceasing when they joined its delegator, Charles. The fourth battle, or detached corps, if too inconsiderable for the former name, although to this body some Italian writers give the chief, if not the whole credit of the victory,<sup>(180)</sup> was formed solely of 400 Tuscans ; those Florentine fuorusciti, who—if become a *Condottiere* band—were, as such, now fighting for the cause they naturally supported, and were commanded by their natural leader, Conte Guido Guerra. The infantry, from the great loss of horses, unusually numerous and important, was distributed amongst the three battles.

Yet after all this circumstantial detail of deliberation on both sides, of concurrent decision by both to engage on the instant, and of consequent arrangements, the same authorities make the fatal action, like that which resulted in the capture of San Germano, altogether the work of accident.<sup>(181)</sup> The French light infantry appear, whilst awaiting their orders, to have indulged their hatred and contempt for Mohammedans, by volunteering, as a pastime, an onslaught upon the Saracen archers. The Saracens, excited by the advance of the foe, equally without orders, hastened to meet them ; and, being first-rate marksmen, their arrows wrought such havoc amongst the assailants, as threw them into confusion. Mirepoix saw the disarray and danger of his own infantry, and still without orders from Charles, led his horse to their protection. The archers' shafts were powerless against plate or chain

armour, and the Saracens, in their turn, were giving way in disorder before a charge, then generally esteemed irresistible, when Galvano Lancia observed the state of affairs, and, again without orders, galloped forward with his Germans to encounter the French cavalry, and avert imminent destruction from the archers. This was the fourth spontaneous attack, and, like two of its predecessors, was temporarily successful. Both French and Germans were brave and practised knights, but the Germans were better equipped, and both men and horses in better condition, than their antagonists. The victory seemed already theirs, when Charles himself took part in the combat. Whilst about to assail Manfred's own corps with the Provençal division, he saw the French chivalry, upon whom, himself a Frenchman, he had mainly relied, all but defeated. Changing his purpose, he flew with the Provençaux to their support. But even this reinforcement was insufficient to turn the scale in their favour; the Germans were still victorious, when Charles, no scrupulous observer of the laws of knightly etiquette, gave orders to kill the horses.<sup>(182)</sup> This unprecedented behest was obeyed; numbers of Germans fell with their slain steeds; and could not, burthened as they were with armour, extricate themselves from beneath the dead or wounded animals.

Victory now as manifestly inclined to Charles, as previously to Manfred, who, in his turn, prepared to afford his personal aid. He was issuing preliminary orders for his whole force to bear down upon the point, where the Germans were unhorsed by the unchivalrous proceeding of the enemy, when he noticed, it is said, another of their divisions approaching the scene of action, and asked: "Who are those, so superior in horses and in armour?" He was told, the Tuscan Guelphs, who had joined the Provençal army in Lombardy; and exclaimed: "Laudable fidelity! But where are the Tuscan Ghibelines, whom I have so strenuously supported with purse and blood?"<sup>(183)</sup> Why do they not render me the like service?" The reported question and remarks—little consonant with one third of his army's consisting of those upbraided Ghibelines—rest upon Guelph authority. So do the reported rejoinder: "We see Ghibelines, too, in the enemy's ranks;" and the

King's reproachful ejaculation : " Faithless ingrates ! They think thus, whoever be the victor, to secure themselves ! " It is more certain, that, with his division, Manfred now rushed upon the enemy.

The weak and weary French horse were broken by the charge, and this seasonable succour by clearing the ground, enabled the fallen Germans to rise. The struggle was renewed, and again the fortune of the day fluctuated. Impatiently, Manfred expected the supporting charge of the remainder of his army, which he had ordered. But for this critical moment had the traitorous or cowardly Apulian Barons waited, to make their treason decisive ; and suddenly one of Manfred's knights cried : " Oh ! see, see, Lord King ! What a body of your troops are passing over to the enemy ! Oh ! what numbers are deserting like traitors ! " As Manfred turned to look, the royal cognisance, a silver eagle that adorned his helmet, fell on to the pommel of his saddle, and the enlightened Manfred was startled by the accident as ominous. Mournfully he said : " This is a warning from God. Securely as with my own hands I had fastened on the eagle, it could not have fallen naturally." <sup>(184)</sup> Then turning to an elderly warlike noble, named Occursio, who had been chief cup-bearer to Frederic II, he asked counsel of him, in the name of his duty to the deceased Emperor. Angrily as sadly, Occursio replied : " It is too late for counsel to avail. Where are now your fiddlers and rhymesters, that you loved better than knights or soldiers ? Call them ! Let them try if Charles will dance to their music ! But your life, Lord King, I will redeem with my own ! " So saying, he snatched up the fallen eagle, affixed it to his own helmet, and galloped into the thickest of the fight, to be slain for the King. Slain Occursio was, but his object was not thus accomplished. Manfred, surrounded by treason and discontent, felt that for him life was not worth preserving ; the general's part was over ; a soldier's death, all that remained. He likewise, followed only by the Roman, Tebaldo di Annibale, galloped into the thickest of the fight, and was seen no more—alive.

The struggle had ceased ; the victory, the kingdom, were the Earl of Anjou's. Of Manfred's best and bravest

warriors, 3000 lay dead upon the field ; whilst, according to some authorities, the victors lost but one man.<sup>(185)</sup> An account not easily reconciled with the havoc wrought at the first onset by the Saracen archers. Amongst the slain some writers name Frederic of Antioch ; whom others state to have died suddenly, soon after Manfred's coronation, and this is virtually confirmed by the anonymous continuator of Jamsilla's Chronicle ; who speaks of Frederic of Antioch's son, Conrad, Conte d'Alba, as already fatherless, when appointed by Manfred Captain of the March. Amongst the prisoners were at least two Lancias, Giordano and Bartolommeo, one of the Uberti, and numbers of gallant nobles from all parts of Italy. But amongst them Manfred was not. Neither had he been found amongst the slain ; and Charles seems to have felt his victory incomplete, even his final success still uncertain, if Manfred were alive and at liberty. Hence, possibly, his gloomy answer to the congratulations thronging around him ; to wit : "To the valiant a world seems little ; what is it then to conquer one man ?"

For nearly two days, the fate of the King remained shrouded in mystery. Towards the close of the second, the captive Lancias, who had secretly cherished a hope that their royal nephew might have escaped, suddenly recognised his charger, ridden by a trooper of Picardy. Anxiously they stopped him, to inquire how he had got the horse, and what he knew of its rider in the battle. The man replied : "During the heat of the battle that knight, with a single companion, burst into our squadron, loudly calling his countrymen to follow him. Had they done so and fought like him, in good sooth I tell you, the victory had been yours. But they came not at his call ; my spear wounded his horse ; and rearing, it fell back upon the rider, whom my comrades slew and plundered, as he lay unable to defend himself. The steed and this belt were my share of the booty."

The dialogue, importing the death of the still dreaded Manfred, had drawn the attention of the victors ; and numbers eagerly followed the Picard, to the site of the adventure he had described. There lay two corpses, completely stripped. The exulting conquerors flung that,

which the Picard pointed out as the rider of his steed, across an ass, and, as they drove the animal before them, one of them, in savage insolence of exultation, set up a cry of "Who'll buy Manfred? 'Who'll buy Manfred?" But a French baron, who had joined the party, chastised him on the spot, and the body, without further insult, was borne to the presence of Charles. When laid down, two mortal wounds appeared in the head and breast; and the Sicilian vassals, prisoners and traitors alike, were summoned, to say whether in this corse they recognised their King. A melancholy affirmative was the general answer; whilst Giordano Lancia, sobbing out, "Oh my dear Lord and King,"<sup>(186)</sup> covered his face with his hands, and burst into a passion of tears, that awakened reverential sympathy in the French chivalry; who could not, perhaps would not, conceal their disgust, at the heartless indifference with which Caserta identified the slain brother-in-law, whom he had betrayed to destruction.

The French knights now surrounded Charles with urgent petitions, to inter the gallant monarch with the rites and ceremonies due to his high station and character; but he coldly answered, that an excommunicated man could neither be borne to the grave with Christian rites, nor lie in consecrated ground. By those who had loved and honoured him, therefore, was Manfred obscurely buried, at the foot of a bridge over the Calore, beside the battle field. The last class, those who honoured him, included well nigh the whole French army. The soldiers were indignant at seeing the valiant King, their heroic foe, consigned to an outcast's grave, and they heaped stones over his lowly resting place; whilst the native peasantry, whom he had protected from feudal oppression, planted rose-bushes around it, until the spot gained the name of the Rock, or Field, of roses.<sup>(187)</sup> Are not such regrets Manfred's best vindication from Guelph accusations? The honours thus spontaneously paid to the dead victim of papal inveteracy, exasperated his old rebel and enemy, the Archbishop of Cosenza. He declared that the excommunicated tyrant must not repose within his usurped kingdom, desecrating the property of the Church; and ordered the corse to be exhumed and re-buried just beyond the frontier.

The second grave was situated in a remote, narrow glen, near a lonely mill; but, even in that rude and sequestered mountain ravine, tradition dwelt, and even to the present day, as is reported, still dwells, upon the wisdom, the beauty, and the misfortunes of *il Ré Manfredi*.

To return to the field, and the day of battle. The Sicilian fugitives sought shelter in Benevento, but finding none. For Benevento, trusting that the Champion of the Church, came as a friend, to take pacific possession, for the Pope, of the principality he had ceded to the Roman See, threw open her gates to the victor, whom her clergy hurried forth, to meet, in procession, and congratulate upon his victory. But the Champion of the Church gave up Benevento, the acknowledged property of his protector, to be sacked for a week, and looked calmly on, whilst, during a whole week, Church Crusaders revelled unchecked in robbery, murder, and atrocities of every kind. These flagitious deeds are recorded in a letter from Clement IV, which might almost be the answer to Charles's announcement of his victory. The Pope, after reproachfully observing, that the joy, inspired by the victory at Benevento, was suddenly troubled by the continuous sacking of the city, thus rebukes the conqueror, his chosen vassal: "Ye have spared neither ecclesiastical nor lay property, neither station, age, nor sex! Crusaders, especially bound to protect churches and cloisters, have stormed and plundered them, have burnt the effigies of saints, and perpetrated the last outrage upon virgins consecrated to God. And these horrible crimes, of all descriptions, robbery, murder, sacrilege, were not the mere outbreak of violence in the intoxication of battle and of victory; they were continuously committed, for eight whole days, under thine own eyes, and not a step was taken to repress them. Yea, it is averred that these things were of set purpose connived at, because the city was the Pope's property, not the King's. Of a truth, never did the Emperor Frederic II, as the enemy of the Church, act so nefariously." Who can chuse but rejoice, at even this small degree of commending "the ingredients of the poisoned chalice, to" the papal "lips," though wishing that the airy chalice had been more poisoned, and the lips those of Clement's more guilty prede-

cessor? The contents had thus been tasted not vicariously, but by the individual concoctor of the dose, though to him, perhaps, the pain had been less.

The fate of the royal family of Sicily may be briefly told. Queen Helena, with her children and her sister-in-law, Anna, the widow of Vatazes—who, upon his death, had sought her brother's protection—had been sent during the campaign to Luceria, as the place of greatest security. The news of her consort's death threw Helena into a death-like swoon, and returning consciousness discovered to her the desertion of courtiers and servants, who—"summer friends" indeed!—had hurried away to tender their submission to the dreaded conqueror. But altogether forsaken the unhappy widow and orphans were not. A loyal citizen of Trani, Munualdu by name, chanced to be at Luceria with his wife Amundilla, and they took charge of the slain monarch's desolate family. Deciding that the only safe asylum for them was the court of Helena's father, for which they must embark at Trani, they sent to another worthy citizen of that town, to provide a vessel for the sad fugitives, against their arrival. This was done; but contrary winds so long prevented their sailing, that it was thought prudent to forestall a discovery, in perhaps hostile temper, by placing confidence in the Governor of the castle. Here again Helena found the appearance at least of honest loyalty; the Governor received his slain King's widow, children and sister, with due respect, and pledged himself to insure their escape. But still adverse winds prevailed; to leave the harbour was still an impossibility; and meanwhile a rumour of the whereabouts, as of the purposed flight of the royal family, stole abroad. Some of the Mendicant Friars who had long been obediently employed in stirring up rebellion against Manfred in every part of the kingdom, hastened to Trani to prevent the escape of those, who might hereafter become rivals to the Pope's King. The Governor's loyalty was not proof against the art with which they worked upon his piety, and his fears. He now detained his helpless royal guests; and, upon the 6th of March, delivered them up to the new King's messengers. The Champion of the Church, bearing a cross upon his shoulder in testimony of transcendent Christianity,



forthwith incarcerated the two widows, and the four orphans,<sup>(188)</sup> in the *Castello dell' Uovo*, at Naples, where the bereaved Queen is known to have presently sunk under her sorrows, though the precise date of her decease is uncertain. She left her children and her imperial sister-in-law to pine in hopeless captivity.

The captive nobles, prisoners, Charles sent to his French dominions, where they were thrown into dungeons, and treated with the utmost barbarity, whilst the confiscation of their property deprived them of all hope of ransoming themselves. At length, driven to despair, they rose upon their jailers, overpowered them, broke out of prison, and fled. But, in France, they had no friends to aid or shelter them, and by far the greater number were retaken. Either in punishment of this attempt at escape, or to prevent its repetition, Charles, declaring that their lives were forfeited at their original capture, being taken in open rebellion, ordered their eyes to be put out, and of each a hand and foot to be cut off. From this state of misery the mangled victims speedily, if sinfully, effected their escape. They refused all nutriment, and starved themselves to death. Of these wretched suicides, Bartolommeo Lancia was certainly one; whether Giordano was, or was not, seems doubtful; in fact, some strange confusion seems to exist upon this subject—Giordano is said to have again appeared upon the political stage, and to have been taunted by Charles as a prison-breaker. On the other hand, it is said, that when Galvano and Federigo Lancia, from Terracina, where they had found refuge after the fatal defeat, concluded a treaty with a Marshal of Charles's, who guaranteed their lives, Charles refused to ratify it, because Galvano was a fugitive from his French prison. Now this treaty, and Charles's refusal to be bound by it, are facts established by a letter, in Martene's Collection, from Clement IV to Charles, rebuking him sharply for various acts of tyranny, especially for his non-observance of this treaty. That historians have evidently confounded one brother with the other, is obvious, since the capitulation of Federigo and Galvano must needs have been long prior to the prison-breaking in Provence or Anjou. The probability is, that Giordano was one of the wretched suicides in Charles's dungeons,

although it is possible that some of the prison-breakers, and he for one, might escape their pursuers.

Clement appears to have well judged his protégé's motive, in allowing his Crusaders to glut their rapacity and brutality upon Benevento; for Capua, that likewise opened its gates, but in fear only, not in even professed loyalty, seems to have suffered nothing of the kind. Naples followed the example of Capua, and into this capital of the continental portion of the kingdom Charles, accompanied by Beatrice, made a ceremoniously triumphal entry. The keys of the city were presented to the conqueror by Francesco di Roffredo, with a harangue—in French! <sup>(189)</sup>—and the whole kingdom, on both sides of the Faro, without striking a second blow, without an attempt at defence, submitted.

One exception to the general, dastardly non-resistance there, however, was, in the person of Manfred's Grand-Admiral, Filippo Chinardi,—who so unhappily missed Charles upon his passage—and his undeviating fidelity met with a return as cruel, as it was unexpected. Chinardi thought to rescue his sovereign's fleet from the usurper's grasp, and secure, for the royal children, the Greek domains that Helena had brought Manfred as her portion, by at once making sail for Epirus. There, the Queen's father, Michael, received him with the warmest expressions of gratitude, for such loyal exertions in behalf of his bereaved daughter and grandchildren; giving him, in acknowledgment, a sister of his own wife in marriage. But, having thus lulled him into perfect security, he caused his new brother-in-law to be assassinated, thinking that his taking possession of his widowed daughter's portion, and his slain son-in-law's fleet, would then be unopposed: It is some consolation to add to the relation of such sickening perfidy, that this heartlessly selfish traitor did not gain the prize that had tempted him. The Italian commanders on shore surrendered the province they could not save for the right owners, to the Emperor Baldwin (if the continuator of Ville-Hardouin may be relied upon), and those at sea, preferring the declared foe to the false friend, acknowledged Charles.

The meanness, with which Apulians and Sicilians offered

their necks to the yoke, Muratori would fain attribute to hatred, provoked by the cruelties of Frederic and Conrad, and inherited by Manfred; but he admits that fear of French prowess, hope of favour from the conqueror, and love of change, contributed their share. The French chivalry were disgusted; and the French chronicler of Charles's conquest writes: "It is the habit and nature of the people of this country, that when need is, no reliance can be placed upon them, and that they would have a new master every day."<sup>(190)</sup> Strange, that the nation should have retained this character even to the present day, notwithstanding the lesson Charles gave them, and the early, bitter repentance, of their fickleness, attested, even by Guelph writers, that the said lesson produced.<sup>(191)</sup> Adu-lation and meanness were unavailing, alike to the nation at large, and to the individual officers in authority under Manfred. These last were, almost to a man, dismissed, and their places filled, either by indigent as rapacious French and Provençal adventurers, often of the lowest grade—appointed, not like Frederic II's low-born officers, for talent, but because tyranny frequently prefers, as instruments, those who, save as its creatures, are nothing—or by such Sicilians, as Caserta and others, whose treason to their native, freely chosen sovereign had previously secured its recompense.

The words, almost to a man, were advisedly used, for one of those officers Charles retained. This was Gezelino di Marra, Grand Chamberlain, with whose financial skill and knowledge he could not for the moment dispense, and who, if not one of the previous traitors, very promptly declared his willingness to surrender his late sovereign's treasure to his sovereign's conqueror. The treasure was so considerable,—Manfred having carefully provided the means of carrying on a prolonged war against inveterate enmity and actual invasion—that, when surrendered, it dazzled the eyes of the avaricious Charles. The better to gloat over such riches, he ordered the coffers of money to be emptied out on to the floor, in the presence of himself, his Queen, and several knights; one of whom he desired to take scales and weigh the gold. But the good knight, Sir Hugues de Vaux, with a proper chivalrous

disdain of Mammon and Mammon-worshippers, cried: "What have I to do with weighing your gold!" Then, kicking it into three heaps, he resumed: "There! you can take one parcel, your Queen another, and your knights the third." The disrespect of this answer Charles certainly did not punish, accepting, it may be presumed, de Vaux's satisfactory principle of division as compensation; but, whether he rewarded the bold speaker with the county of Avellino, is a disputed point, being asserted by some historians, and denied by others.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### RICHARD.

*Affairs of Germany—of Austria—of Thuringia—Spirit of Confederation—Position of Conradin—Affairs of Italy—of Lombardy—Fate of Enzo—Affairs of Florence—Charles's Tyranny—Ambition—Malcontents invite Conradin—Conradin in Lombardy—Deserted by German Relations—Preparations of Charles.* [1266—1267.]

IN Germany, during the whole period of Manfred's reign, the state of anarchy described as prevalent at the time of his election, had been continuous. The strong oppressed the weak, princes and nobles were at war with each other; and the strangely arbitrary acts in which they were able to indulge themselves may be judged from a single instance. In 1259, Conrad von Hochstaden, the already mentioned Archbishop of Cologne, without a shadow of pretext, seized a son of Abel King of Denmark—on his way home from studying at the Paris University—thus to extort a ransom, so enormous, that the raising it, provoked a rebellion in Denmark, ultimately causing the murder of the king, and the accession of his brother Christopher. To heighten the confusion, the archbishops and bishops were for the most part at feud with their chapters; which chapters, when vacancies occurred, usually contributed their quota to the general distraction, by double elections. Why Alexander IV and Urban IV did not take the opportunity offered them, of confirming, by exercising, the supremacy that Innocent IV had claimed over the Empire, and decide between the rival sovereigns elect, neither of whom was in a position to excite apprehension of his power as emperor, is a mystery. Some writers suggest, that Richard, who was held to

be the more lawfully elected of the two, had offended the Popes by declining to plead his cause before their tribunal; but the probability seems to be, that they thought to derive more advantage from the anarchy of the Empire, than from such an exercise of authority. Certainly they, like Clement IV, indefinitely postponed the task of deciding; and thus, in fact, sanctioned the German princes in withholding obedience. They thus neutralized all Richard's best efforts to restore order, and obliged him rather to augment the evil he wished to remedy, by reducing him to the necessity of courting the powerful, at the expense of the weaker, vassals.

When, in 1264, Richard was recalled to England by his brother Henry, to assist him against the angry Barons, and with him taken prisoner at the battle of Lewes, the Dukes of Bavaria deemed the opportunity favourable for bringing forward the claims of their nephew, then a fine boy about twelve years old, to his ancestors' throne. It has been thought that the great vassals, even the Ghibelines, were unwilling to make any change in a government, to them perfectly satisfactory, by two emperors, the one fast-bound in Spain, the other a prisoner in England.<sup>(192)</sup> But their conduct need not be imputed to fear of control by a boy-emperor, for, why should they brave excommunication, merely to seat a nearly friendless youth upon his forefathers' throne? And with threats of such sentence Urban enforced his prohibition of a new election; Richard's captivity, he asserted, not impairing his right to the crown, if he had any, and still less Alfonso's. To this general prohibition he added one more specific and yet more imperative against ever, under any circumstances, electing Conradin; against even granting him his patrimonial fiefs; in a sort of circular Philippic, addressed to all the German Princes, he treats the young representative of the house of Swabia, as the heir only to the crimes and anathemas of his race. The Pope added a vehement reprimand to Eberhard, Truchsess von Waldburg, Bishop of Constance—with whom the scheme of then advancing Conradin's claim appears to have originated—for defending the interests of the persecuted orphan in Swabia, as hereditary Duke. Conradin's uncles quietly submitted, and the

anarchy was merely a little heightened during Richard's fifteen months' captivity. In 1265, the King of the Romans recovered his liberty; and visited Germany, as before. Alfonso, as before, remained in Castile, exercising such acts of sovereignty as, at that distance, he conveniently could; for instance, at Toledo he gave the Duke of Upper Lorrain investiture of his duchy—now the only duchy of Lorrain—and received his homage; but the Duke stipulated that, if Alfonso did not appear in Germany, as King of the Romans, or Emperor, within two years, his homage should be null.

To detail the condition of Germany with respect to feuds, even as succinctly as heretofore, were needlessly tedious; that condition is no longer essential to the appreciation of individual Emperors; whilst the state of society is fully portrayed, when said to continue what these pages have depicted. But a few words touching two of the feuds, with which the reader is already acquainted, may not be unseasonable.

In Bohemia, Ottocar had succeeded to his father, and continued, for a while, at war with the King of Hungary and the Duke of Bavaria. But at length, finding peace indispensable to him, he negotiated with his most formidable enemy, his western neighbour, who, obtaining the restoration of the originally ceded provinces upon the Ens, acknowledged him as Duke of Austria. Bela IV, upon whose eastern frontier, as upon Poland's, the Mongols again hung so threateningly, that western Germany awoke from her dream of security, seemed little in condition for vigorous hostility. Nevertheless, he refused to acquiesce in the King of Bohemia's acquisition of Austria, without obtaining, like Duke Lewis, some share of the spoils. Whilst the Archbishop of Mainz was labouring, if not, as might be expected, to arouse his fellow-princes to arm for the common defence, yet, by processions and other religious ceremonies, to avert a calamity so frightful as subjugation, or destruction, by savages; Bela, regardless of the impending danger, and the horrors which he knew from experience, thought only of enlarging his menaced dominions by wresting Styria from Ottocar. This war was marked by all the cruelty, but too often commemorated in

these pages: the Czechs being represented as worthy rivals therein of the Mongols. Though professedly Christians, they, like them, desecrated churches by the massacre of those who had hoped protection from the sanctity of the altar; and, upon one occasion, are reported to have carried babies, dragged by the feet from their cradles, to the Cathedral, there to dash their brains out against the pillars, or the pavement.<sup>(198)</sup>

At length, in 1261, Ottocar, as warlike as Bela, and, being younger, more alert, had so decidedly the advantage, that the Hungarian monarch, under Mongol pressure, sued for peace. He offered to renounce his pretensions to Styria, and, by way of cementing the union of the two kingdoms, Hungary and Bohemia, to give his beautiful granddaughter, Cunegunda, in marriage to Ottocar, if freed from his elderly wife, Queen Margaret. Under Popes such as Innocent IV, Alexander IV, and Urban IV, a prince, whose good will was thought desirable, found the sacramental character of matrimony no insuperable obstacle to a release from its shackles. Ottocar, upon the double plea of Margaret's sterility—which might have been anticipated when the marriage was proposed—and of her having pronounced, not the irrevocable nun's vow, but some preliminary vow, from which she had been expressly relieved by Innocent IV, with a positive injunction not to bind herself further, obtained his divorce. That, in repudiating the Duchess of Austria, he kept her duchy, to which he could no longer advance any shadow of a claim, scarce need be said. Discarded and despoiled, Margaret retired to the convent, which, unwillingly, and for herself unfortunately, she had left to wed him. King Richard was but too happy to purchase the support of Bohemia and Austria by sanctioning any, the most extravagant, of Ottocar's pretensions, and durst not oppose the further increase of this, now formidable, vassal's power, when the childless Duke of Carinthia dying, bequeathed him, as next of kin, his duchy. It was probably to expiate the above-mentioned sacrilegious desecration of a Cathedral, that Ottocar, in the year 1265, undertook a Crusade, in aid of the Marians, against the Heathen Prussians. Urban IV gave him beforehand all he should conquer; and, in his conquest, he



founded Königsberg. Upon this Crusade Rudolph of Habsburg accompanied Ottocar, having to obtain relief from a two-fold excommunication, incurred by two offences—the first, his fidelity to his imperial Godfather: the second, burning a nunnery, in the course of his war with the Bishop of Basle. The only drawback to Ottocar's prosperity, at this time, appears to have been the conduct of his beautiful Hungarian consort, who is said to have amply revenged the wrongs of her predecessor.

The contest for Thuringia ended, in 1263, in the final joint acceptance of the compromise often previously proposed, half agreed to, and again broken off, which assigned the western provinces, as the landgraviate of Hesse, to Sophia, Duchess of Brabant, and the eastern to Hermann, Margrave of Misnia, to be permanently absorbed in his margraviate. The ultimate adoption and ratification of this arrangement was effected by the intervention of Albert Duke of Brunswick, whose sister was now married to Henry the Child, Sophia's son and her heir, though, having an elder half-brother, not of Brabant.

In the north-east, the Teutonic, or Marian Knights, as immediate vassals of the Empire, were rapidly conquering and converting Prussia, Esthonia, and Livonia. The last process they sought to facilitate, as well as to establish more securely their own domination (against which Ottocar never seems to have advanced any claim upon the strength of Urban's grant), by colonizing those countries with Germans. They built towns for their colonists, and for their conquered subjects; but, perceiving in them no tendency towards the prosperity which the German towns derived from their commerce, these military monks, by a curious anomaly, solicited and obtained, from Urban IV, permission to trade in ships of their own, freighted with their own produce, without derogating from their knighthood, or their nobility.

The development of civic power, so seemingly incongruous with the feudal system, yet, at this epoch, so important and peculiar an element of feudal Germany, was now rapidly progressive. The Rhine League, and the imitations to which, throughout Germany, its success had given birth, were flourishing. The Westphalian towns

had a league with each other, with towns upon the Elbe, and with others upon the Baltic. The Slavonian towns upon the Baltic formed a separate federation, as the Wendisch League. Other Leagues arose; as one of German seaport towns upon the Baltic and upon the Ocean, with Dutch, Flemish, and even Brabant towns; making war or peace at their discretion with the Kings of Denmark and Norway; and highly favoured by Countess Margaret. Others, less considerable, consisted of Saxon and of Prussian towns. None of these leagues were individually permanent, but in themselves, or through the habits and opinions which they indicated and fostered, they all contributed to the development of the long-enduring and mighty Hanseatic League; which now, in the second half of the thirteenth century, was growing into strength. But, during the distracted period under consideration, the German spirit of federation was not confined to towns. The robber-knights, and petty plundering nobles, against whose marauding propensities the towns had leagued themselves, being struck with the efficiency of such co-operation, formed counter-leagues amongst themselves, to enable them to prosecute their system of highway robbery, in spite of all the defensive means of their intended prey.<sup>(194)</sup> The laws passed at a Synod held in 1266, by Engelbert von Falkenberg, Archbishop of Cologne, for the repression of violent outrages perpetrated upon, and also by, ecclesiastics, are alone sufficient proof of the need there was for defensive confederation.

That the Bishop of Constance had undertaken the charge of Conradin's interests in his patrimonial duchy has been said. The duchy—already much reduced, and claimed as a lapsed fief by the King of the Romans, when Alexander IV forbade his giving the heir, according to promise, investiture,—the prelate did not judge the time propitious to any attempt at recovering; but he encouraged the disinherited to assume his birthright, by acting as Duke, in every way that might gain him partisans. Thus guided, Conradin appointed the chief Swabian noble, the Graf von Württemberg, Marshal of Swabia, and Graf von Lichtenberg, Landgrave of Lower Alsace. But if these appointments and his hopes of the duchy were shadowy, Bishop Eberhard had recovered for him his allodial heritage there,

together with several family fiefs; and was anxiously watching for an opportunity to seat him upon his ancestral throne.

Meanwhile, Conradin remained under the sole guardianship of his uncle, Duke Lewis, to which his mother left him. The gloom of the Bavarian court, after the dreadful catastrophe of Duchess Mary, and the horror felt by the widowed Elizabeth for her brother, as the assassin of his innocent wife and her ladies, are the alleged motives for her second, very inferior marriage. Upon the 6th of October, 1259, the widow of Conrad IV, gave her hand to Meinhard, Graf von Görz, and followed him to his county, abandoning her son to the care of that brother, from whom she herself shrank. But the royal orphan was not, therefore, neglected. Duke Lewis caused him to be carefully educated, in companionship with a kinsman, two or three years older than himself, one of the many pretenders to the duchy of Austria. This was Frederic, the son of Gertrude, by Margrave Hermann of Baden; whom with his sister, upon becoming for the second time a widow, she had, as before said, made over to their father's aunt Agnes, now dowager-Duchess of Bavaria. The warmest friendship appears to have united these high-born, but unfortunate, fatherless, and, virtually, motherless, youths, doubly related to each other, through both parents; and of whom one, Frederic, seems to have been wholly dependent upon the Duke of Bavaria for support and education, though wherefore, being a prince of Baden, is not explained. Conradin, thanks to the exertions of the Bishop of Constance, was not so destitute; but, even the fragments that he possessed, of the splendid heritage to which he was born, excited general cupidity. Privileges, concessions, promises, were extorted from the boy; and his two maternal uncles themselves, Dukes Lewis and Henry, required him to make a will by which, should he die childless, he bequeathed them his allodial property, and pledged himself to endeavour to obtain for them the inheritance of his fiefs, partly as next of kin, and partly in consideration of what they had done for him. The young testator reserved to himself the power of providing for a wife, or rather for a widow, and of endowing pious institutions.

This had been the state of Germany during Manfred's reign, and there his fall had no influence. In northern and central Italy the case was different; but Milan, the great Lombard leader of Guelph interests, even had she retained her pristine ardour in the cause, was in no position to triumph in the Ghibeline catastrophe. But the quarrel with the Pope, consequent upon his consecrating a Visconti her Archbishop, and the interdict laid upon the city for expelling, instead of acknowledging, the prelate, had so far changed the sentiments entertained by the Milanese towards Manfred, as to prevent their holding any intercourse with the Provençal invading army; though not sufficiently to elicit assistance in opposing its progress. Presently, however, resentment against their ex-Captain-General Palavicino, so thoroughly overpowered this lukewarm regard for Manfred, that Napoleone Torre, who had either succeeded to Filippo, or been admitted by him as a colleague, not only concluded a treaty with Charles, during his sojourn at Rome, but solicited and received a Podestà from Milan at his hands. Charles appointed an actual foreigner, a new phenomenon in Italian history. Enguerand or Barral, or Emberra—the name being thus variously given—de Vaux, a Provençal, whose virulent persecution of Ghibelines so disgusted the Milanese, as again to damp their Guelph zeal. He literally tortured to death fifty-two persons for no other offence than kindred with Ghibelines; <sup>(195)</sup> and Torre, to whom he owed his power, cried in horror: “The blood of these innocent persons will be required of my children!” whilst the indignant multitude expelled their foreign Podestà. The citizens are said, in this surfeit of Guelphism, to have wavered between the two parties; but every Torre was innately Guelph, and Napoleone was moreover anxious for the revocation of the interdict; wherefore, he both offered the sovereignty of the city to Charles, and, on the 23d of March, of the following year, 1267, concluded a treaty with the Marquesses of Este and Montferrat, and with Vercelli, Lodi, Padua, Mantua, Modena, Reggio, Bologna, Ferrara, and with other nobles and cities of less note; by which such authority over northern Italy was granted to the new King of the Two Sicilies, as had not, since the civil war under

Henry IV, been conceded to the Emperors, the acknowledged lawful sovereigns of Lombardy.

Charles, in direct violation of his treaty with the Pope, accepted this protectorate of Lombardy, and, in his new capacity, added ambassadors of his own to those despatched by Milan, to treat with Clement, relatively to the interdict and the rival archbishops. The Envoys urged that, had the Torri and Milan aided the Ghibelines, Charles's army could not have passed through Lombardy; consequently Manfred could not have been conquered; and that services so momentous should not be overlooked, for the sake of an Otho Visconti, whose friends and family were attached to that protector of heretics, that arch-enemy of the Church, Palavicino. They therefore prayed that his Holiness would revoke the interdict, depose Otho de' Visconti, and consecrate Raimondo della Torre, Archbishop of Milan. Otho, who was present, alleged in reply, that, by the tyranny of the Torri alone, had his family been compelled reluctantly to seek the protection of Palavicino; whose principles they abhorred, and to whom the Torri had, on the contrary, voluntarily given the command of Milan. Clement, whose determination had been previously formed, listened quietly to the arguments on both sides, and then said: "Not till the earth have ceased to bear fruit, the stars to shine, and tempests to disturb the air, will I relieve the Torri from the justly incurred anathema of the Church." Hereupon, the plenipotentiaries of the house of Torre made unconditional submission; and the Pope, despite his just professed implacability, granted the solicited relief. But neither their readmission into the pale of the Church, nor Charles's exercise of his sovereign authority, availed to quell the violence of the factions distracting Milan.

The depression of the Lombard Ghibelines, upon Manfred's overthrow, was proportionate to the exultation of the Guelphs. In utter despondency, Palavicino sought and obtained a reconciliation with the Church; but benefited little thereby. And he, so lately the Lord of Cremona, Brescia, Piacenza, Pavia, Alessandria, Tortona, and temporarily even of Milan, saw his dominions reduced to two insignificant castles. Amidst this series of disasters

there is some satisfaction in adding, that Doara's treachery procured him no better fortune ; he lost his share of the seignory of Cremona, and with it all consequence in Lombardy.

If Bologna could not be made more Guelph than she was, one melancholy consequence, of the more than melancholy catastrophe, attested the fierceness of her party spirit. The captive Enzo, soothed and cheered by love and friendship, had thus far borne his imprisonment patiently, in confident hope, that the extravagant offers of ransom incessantly tendered, by his father and his half-brothers, Conrad and Manfred, must, as passion subsided, be ultimately accepted. Manfred, less sanguine in this respect, had projected his release by arms, at the very moment when the aggression of Charles perforce confined his attention to the defence of his own realms. But, with Manfred, fell Enzo's last hope from his family, whose power he saw transferred to their worst enemies ; and he resolved to liberate himself. Two of his friends, named Gonfaloniere and Asinelli, agreed to assist his escape, even at the price of accompanying his flight as exiles, and a cooper, named Philip, of extraordinary bodily strength, who habitually brought casks of wine to the prison, having frequently expressed deep commiseration for the young King's lot, was fixed upon as the active agent. A large reward was offered him if he would carry Enzo out in a supposed empty cask, when, as he must needs avoid punishment by flight, the rescued King would take him into his own service. The cooper consented, and the execution of the scheme was cautiously prepared. For a length of time, Philip regularly supplied Enzo with wine—which, as he was allowed to entertain his friends, was largely consumed—bringing a full cask upon his back, and carrying the empty cask in like manner away. When the guards and prison authorities, accustomed to the process, had ceased to pay attention to Philip's movements, the day was fixed. Gonfaloniere stationed himself, with four fleet steeds, at the place to which the prisoner was to be carried, whilst Asinelli, in the prison, helped to pack Enzo into the cask, and superintended Philip's exit. All went well. The robust cooper carried his heavy load as though it had been a feather, passed jailers and soldiers, as usual,

exchanging jokes with them, and was hastening to the appointed spot, saunteringly followed by Asinelli, when either a soldier or a servant girl, for upon this point authorities differ, exclaimed that a lock of fair hair hung down from the cask. Philip was still near enough to the prison guards, for the exclamation to be fatal. He was called back and the cask opened. Enzo was thenceforward buried in a dungeon, inaccessible to love or friendship. Of his intended deliverers, Gonfaloniere heard a rumour of detected plots, in time to escape upon one of the horses provided for the party: the complicity of Asinelli and the cooper being flagrant, they expiated, the one his friendship, the other his mercenary compassion, with their lives. As Enzo now finally disappears from the stage, it may here, if somewhat prematurely, be stated, that in his dungeon he lived, or languished, four years, and, in 1271, died, leaving one child by Adelasia; a daughter named Helena, married to a Conte Donoratico of Pisa, a son of the Conte Ugolino Donoratico, whose atrocious doom Dante has celebrated.<sup>(196)</sup> Her husband was not amongst his father's companions in the tower of Hunger,—but one of her sons was. To Helena's husband, as such, Enzo bequeathed the kingdom of Sardinia. Whether any descendants of her sons still exist, is uncertain.<sup>(197)</sup>

In Tuscany, no immediate fruits of Manfred's destruction appeared, save in ever-Guelph Florence, whence the slain monarch's Lieutenant, Conte Guido Novello, was promptly expelled. The other Ghibeline authorities were, for the moment, suffered to remain; party triumph being temporarily satisfied with a sort of compromise, to wit, giving the Ghibeline Podestà a colleague, in the person of a second Podestà, a Guelph; and hampering both with what might be called an Executive Council, consisting of thirty-six Priors, elected indiscriminately from all classes,<sup>(198)</sup> and changed every two months, superadded to the regular popular Councils. As a further step in democracy, Consuls, flags, and *Gonfalonieri* (standard-bearers) to carry them, were at this time assigned severally to the seven *Arti Maggiori*, or Chief Trades, as the words must, comprehensively, be rendered, although the list includes professions, the seven *Arti Maggiori* being those of Lawyers,

Merchants, Bankers or money-changers—usually goldsmiths—Wool-manufacturers, Physicians—comprehending apothecaries and druggists, if such separate departments existed,—Silk-manufacturers, and Furriers, or rather dealers in skin, since the tanners ranked with the furriers. The more moderate Florentine democrats hoped, that the extensive participation in the exercise of authority, resulting from the last but one of these arrangements, and the facility of communication and co-operation afforded by the last, might so far check the mania for innovation, as to produce some degree of tranquillity. But Florence was too passionately Guelph to be tranquil, whilst Ghibelines polluted her atmosphere. Broils arose, and, within the year, the Ghibelines were expelled, and again admitted; upon which last occasion the plan for procuring quiet, that had failed at Milan, was adopted; to wit, blending the factions by intermarriages.

If Charles, when he felt himself securely seated upon the throne of the Two Sicilies, disowned the engagement—which the Popes had made a *sine qua non* condition of the grant—to confine his power and influence within the limits of that kingdom, his promise to abrogate those laws of Frederic II's, that restricted Church rights and privileges, he faithfully kept. Not that his bigotry was honest enough to induce the sacrifice of his own authority to the Pope; the laws, which restored regal power at the expense of the papal, were perhaps the only part of the new Code that he would willingly have preserved. But his intensely jealous hatred of Frederic and Manfred impelled him, at whatever cost, to destroy every work of theirs, effacing, if possible, their very names from the memory of their former subjects. Hence the more of the "divine Swabian Code"<sup>(199)</sup> he could annihilate, the more agreeable to him. Thus actuated, not even the amount of power and patronage, to be surrendered, prevented his executing this condition; and he abrogated Frederic's laws restrictive of papal authority and ecclesiastical exemptions, confirming all the concessions wrung from the dying Empress-Queen's maternal anxieties, of rights enjoyed by her Norman ancestors.

Having thus far rescinded new code to his own detriment, Charles proceeded to do so for his advantage.



He resumed all the oppressive feudal prerogatives of the crown that Frederic had renounced, adding others previously unknown in Italy, though not uncommon in France; such as compelling corn to be ground at the royal mills, pasturing royal flocks and herds in vassals' fields, even of green corn, and the like. He reimposed upon the nobles the feudal services from which Frederic had relieved them, retaining the money payments that should purchase the relief; and, either as part of this system of abrogation, or in some measure to reconcile the Great Vassals to increased burthens, he restored all the inconvenient and disorder-generating rights of jurisdiction, annihilated or controlled by the code. If he did not abrogate the provincial diets instituted by Frederic, for the prevention of local abuses, the redress of local grievances, &c., he insured their falling into desuetude by never assembling them. In fact, he had filled the offices, which these diets were intended to superintend and control, with the foreign adventurers to whose swords, and with the native traitors to whose treason, he owed his kingdom; and to free their wanton tyranny from legal restraint was, in his eyes, a cheaper remuneration than lavish grants of confiscated fiefs. For the same economical reason, perhaps, he suffered Manfred's laws for the protection of female chastity to fall into desuetude; that they did slumber unexecuted, being evident from the complaints, ere long so numerous, of French and Provençal licentiousness, displayed in violence as well as seduction. He endeavoured to force trade to those seaports exclusively, which were Crown property, by laying embargoes upon all others; whilst discovering his motive, by imposing heavy tolls, duties, &c., upon all transactions in those belonging to the crown; these he rendered yet more onerous, by the mode of levying them, by hampering restrictions, and otherwise. All tolls, duties, &c., with taxes of all descriptions, and even judicial fines, were farmed out to the highest bidder; whilst the King tried other modes, legal and illegal, of raising and of sparing money. He compelled all neighbours of crown lands to rent those lands at an exorbitant rate, and he manned his fleets by a species of arbitrary conscription, imprisoning the whole family of such as

absconded. He endeavoured at once to relieve his constant pecuniary wants, and to indulge his own and the Pope's hatred of the splendid dynasty of sovereigns whom he had supplanted, by calling in Frederic's beautiful golden *augustali*, which he, first, intrinsically depreciated, by diminishing the quantity of gold they contained, and then, disfiguring them with a new stamp, reissued as *Carlini*, nominally at their original value. He endeavoured to change the name of Manfred's new-built town from Manfredonia to Siponto Nuovo; but here even his despotism was foiled by the stronger despotism of habit, and to this day Manfredonia remains Manfredonia. He was more successful in the annihilation of public documents, relative to the reigns of Henry VI, Frederic II, Conrad IV, and Manfred; for, whilst those of the Norman monarchs abound, and some even of Lombard princes exist, of the four Swabian reigns only the decrees issued during two years, by Frederic, can be found in the Neapolitan archives; and the Sicilian contain nothing, that could indicate the island's having ever been governed by a single Swabian heir of those Norman kings.

Yet, with all these varied forms of oppression and extortion, combined with his own habitual frugality, and his study to satisfy his followers with other than pecuniary rewards, so extravagant were the demands made upon him by adventurers and traitors, that, whilst Manfred had derived ample means from moderate duties, &c., Charles, with far heavier, seems always in difficulties, borrowing on every side. In borrowing of his own subjects, noble or mercantile, his object might indeed be supposed, to secure their fidelity through their interest; but he borrowed likewise of independent states, granting, as a premium, commercial advantages, injurious to his own subjects; and, finally, he borrowed of usurers.

In order to characterize Charles's government, his various modes of oppression have been given collectively; although, of course, they did not burst at once, as a whole, upon the Sicilies. Enough, however, did, to fill the nation with repentance for having deserted Manfred. Knowing that *his* urgent need of money, like his father's, had invariably been caused by the enmity of popes, the

Sicilians had thought to escape all demands upon the purse when their King should be the friend of the Pope. Great was their disappointment. Upon one portion of continental Sicily, however, Charles pressed with peculiar tyranny; this—need it be said?—was Luceria, where the Saracens, gratefully loyal to the memory of Frederic II, Conrad IV, and Manfred, if they did not singly attempt to resist the conqueror, submitted in gloomy silence, looking anxiously for some heir of the race they loved and revered. The sentiments they betrayed, Charles punished by every kind of oppression; and Clement, far from blaming this display of tyranny, seems to have thought that he himself reached the extreme verge of excusable toleration, when he forbore to require from Charles, that which Manfred had been excommunicated for refusing; to wit, their expulsion from the kingdom.

But, if in this respect blameless in the eyes of the Pope, Charles taught his suzerain, nearly as early as his subjects, to regret his, perhaps unavoidable, adoption of his predecessors' policy. He delayed the payment of the stipulated tribute far beyond the stipulated time. He altogether resisted the claim to the covenanted additional 50,000 marks, even when Clement offered, by way of composition, to accept 40,000; and he refused to fulfil the engagement, to which he had pledged himself, of resigning the Roman Senatorship. Upon this, solemnly and repeatedly promised, resignation, Clement positively insisted. Charles proposed that the Pope should privately invest him with the office he then held, and would still seem to hold, by popular election: which investiture, constituting him a papal officer, his receiving it would be, on his part, a full acknowledgment of the Holy Father's temporal sovereignty over Rome. The appropriate answer was, a dignified reprimand, purporting, that to say one thing in public and do the direct contrary in private, was unbecoming the papal or the kingly character. Charles then professed to comply and resign the office; but neither recalled his appointed deputy from Rome, nor ceased to entitle himself Senator.

In Tuscany, likewise, Charles violated or evaded, as he had previously done in Lombardy, the compact in virtue

of which he was king ; but did so in a less glaringly offensive style ; and Clement rather sanctioned than blamed his proceedings. The Florentine Guelphs, growing impatient of the attempt to reconcile them to the Ghibelines, had sought aid against their fellow-townsmen from the new King of Sicily ; who sent them 800 French horse under Guy de Montfort, and the very rumour of their approach again expelled the Ghibelines. The fuorusciti retired to Pisa and Sienna—then the only cities in Tuscany avowedly of their party, though a few more were so, secretly ; and through the intervention of Clement and Charles, as if by a final arrangement, to preclude their ever being readmitted, one third of their property was confiscated to the public treasury, one third assigned, as compensation, to those Guelphs whose possessions they had devastated, and the remaining third, liberally granted to the owners themselves for their support.

In Tuscany, Charles having, thus far, acted in perfect concert with the Pope, can hardly be said to have infringed his promise of non-intervention. But his position there was unsatisfactory to the King, who aimed at the authority that Manfred had exercised over Florence, whilst Ghibeline ; and the success of the secret emissaries he employed, to obtain this authority, is an instance of the suicidal absurdities into which the excited spirit of faction can be betrayed. The hyper-ultra-democratic—if such a mongrel re-duplication of prefixes be admissible—passion reigning in Florence, is apparent in the device for letting the whole population participate, momentarily at least, in the government. Yet did Charles's emissaries, erelong, by intrigue, and skilful stimulation of Guelph hatred for Ghibelines, seduce these republicans into making the King a spontaneous tender of sovereignty over their city. Charles played coy, professing to desire only the hearts and good will of the Florentines ; but, being pressed, accepted the office of Podestà for ten years, and instantly appointed a deputy to exercise the authority intrusted to him. Other Tuscan towns followed the example of Florence ; and Charles, no longer affecting to decline, gave them creatures of his own, either as Podestàs, subject to his dictation, or as his Governors. But the most remark-

able part of the affair is, that Clement betrayed no displeasure at these repeated violations, by his self-willed and unscrupulous vassal, of what had been esteemed an indispensable article of the convention. The explanation may, perhaps, be, that, finding protest and remonstrance fruitless, he sought, by sanctioning, to regulate, what he was powerless to prevent. Certain it is, that in the summer of this year, 1267, he appointed Charles to one of those posts in Tuscany, from which by treaty he, as well as Urban, had so carefully excluded him, although what that post was, at least in name, is disputed. Some writers say, that of Imperial Vicar,<sup>(200)</sup> to which Popes have claimed the right of appointing, when there was no Emperor; and this Clement held to be the case, until he should have decided between Richard and Alfonso. But a different and altogether novel title, that of Conservator of the Peace for a period of three years, has likewise been given to this office,<sup>(201)</sup> with the addition, that the Pope, in conferring it, bound Charles by oath both to execute it literally, under pain of excommunication for every act tending to provoke hostilities, and, within a month after his decision between the candidates for the Empire, to lay it down—a natural condition if the title were Imperial Vicar, not otherwise—neither retaining a fortress in Tuscany, nor taking any money thence.

Charles now, for the first time, visited his great benefactor; and at Viterbo, upon the 4th of June, 1267, signed a convention touching his office in Tuscany, accepting all the restrictions the Pope had attached to the appointment. In this interview he appears to have so completely gained the good will and good opinion of Clement, that, by relieving him from all embarrassments at home, to render his whole force disposable in Tuscany, a body of Papal troops was sent to hold the still sullen and disturbed Saracens of Luceria in check.

Charles then repaired to Florence, where he was received with all imaginable honours, and the citizens swore obedience to him and to the Church; abjuring any possible connexion with the orphan heir of the Swabian Emperors, and pledging themselves never to acknowledge any German monarch, whose claims were not sanctioned by the Pope.

And now the Conservator of the Peace, as if in mockery of the title, and in breach of all his compacts, even the last, with Clement, attacked every Tuscan town and castle that had given shelter to Tuscan Ghibelines, destroyed the weaker, and waged war against the still formidable Pisa. Nor was any semblance of moderation observed in the conduct of hostilities so wantonly begun by this Conservator of Peace. All possible damage was done to the possessions of Ghibelines, whilst in regard to the persons of the vanquished, men, women, children, and even ecclesiastics, were tortured or massacred without mercy. In one captured town, Santo Ilario, 400 human beings were thus butchered.<sup>(202)</sup>

Again Clement rebuked, remonstrating against the aggressive course pursued by the Conservator of the Peace in Tuscany; against the King's savage treatment of his Sicilian prisoners in France; against his breach of engagements entered into by his own officers; against his tyranny, and general misgovernment in his vassal kingdom, as *e.g.*, his neglecting the advice of his official councillors to follow that of sycophants; his arbitrary imposition of taxes, and his connivance at the violence and the vices of his licentious followers, who plundered the rich, oppressed the poor, and outraged women. Finally, he admonished him that he had better be beloved than dreaded. The letters containing these remonstrances still exist, as evidence to the truth of the charges brought by Ghibelines against Charles of Anjou. But the Holy Father remonstrated and admonished in vain. The King, who no longer needed his support, had chosen his course, and pursued it.

Nor was Charles content with the authority which, in direct violation of his plighted oaths, he had acquired over Italy. In September of this same year, 1267, he advanced a claim, the ground of which eludes all power of conjecture, to Sardinia; and was opposed by two rivals, the one, namely, the *Infante* Don Henrique of Castile, upon grounds equally inconceivable; the other, Don Jayme, King of Aragon, upon the plea, then deemed irrefragable, save against the Papal See, that his ancestors were amongst the original reconquerors of the island from the Moslem.

All three referred their pretensions to the Pope, as suze-

rain of Sardinia; but Clement was unwilling to pronounce, and the strange claim would be of no moment, did it not appear a principal cause of the quarrel that ensued between Charles, and his kinsman and ally, Don Henrique; concerning whom a few words become necessary.

Don Henrique was nearly related to both Charles and Conradin, his grandmother, Queen Berengaria, being the elder sister of Charles's mother, Queen Blanche, whilst his own mother was Beatrice, daughter to the murdered King Philip. A defeated insurrection having, some years since, driven him from Castile, he had, with a younger brother, Don Fadrique, and a band, probably of his confederates, passed over into Africa.<sup>(203)</sup> There, he had been engaged, with his band, as a Condottiere, by the Moslem King of Tunis, had fought in his wars, and in his service had accumulated considerable wealth. Charles's projected invasion of the Sicilies, when reported at Tunis, opened a new scene of action to the Infantes; and Don Henrique, leaving a division of his band with Don Fadrique in Africa, passed over to Italy with the larger part, from 300 to 800 horsemen, mostly Spaniards, and proffered the use of his lances, and, what was even more acceptable, the loan of some 60,000 or 80,000 doubloons, to his enterprising relation. Don Henrique's voluntary subordinate connexion with a Mohammedan sovereign, might be supposed objectionable in the eyes of those who deemed the toleration of Mohammedan subjects a sin so irremissible, as to require the excommunication of the infant descendant of the offenders. But no, the fierce bigot, Charles, thankfully accepted both offers, with large promises of punctual repayment and ample remuneration; whilst Clement seems to have been passive in the arrangement.<sup>(204)</sup> It has been asserted that each party endeavoured to overreach the other; but in what way the Prince could overreach the King does not appear; that Charles *had* his Spanish kinsman's money is certain; as also that he evaded the promised repayment, and, in various ways, thwarted the lender's views, relying upon the possession of his money for binding him, till repaid, to the interest of his royal debtor. When he found the resigna-

tion of the Roman senatorship unavoidable, he served himself by promoting the election of Don Henrique in his stead. This the Pope resolutely opposed—as rendering the resignation nugatory—but could not prevent; and the new Senator, accustomed to control the unruly, showed himself so well qualified for his office, administering justice impartially, and re-establishing order amongst the turbulent Romans, whilst in various ways conciliating their good will, that Clement was speedily reconciled to his appointment.

Such was the state of affairs when the conflicting claims to Sardinia were advanced. Don Henrique demanded his doubloons of the King of the Two Sicilies, therewith to support his pretensions, but readily acquiesced in the proposed reference to the papal tribunal. Of payment from Charles he naturally found less chance than ever; but, had the Pope been compelled to give Sardinia a king, he must have preferred Don Henrique, as the safest of the three, whilst his royal vassal, whose insatiable ambition excited his daily increasing alarm, was evidently the most objectionable. Unsatisfied with Italy and its islands, he had concluded a treaty with the ex-Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II, whom he pledged himself to assist vigorously in recovering his throne, in consideration, not so much of the marriage of one of his own daughters to the Latin ex-Emperor's son and heir, Philip, as of this Emperor's engagement to cede to the Sicilian crown the districts of Epirus that had formed Helena's wedding portion, if not the principalities of Achaia and the Morea, still held by their Latin conquerors, and one third of any future conquests; the choice of the third being with the King of the Sicilies.

Deeply indeed was Clement by this time displeased with Urban's selected vassal monarch, who manifestly aimed at power as formidable as ever had been that of the German Emperor-King of Sicily; and very general was the sympathy with his dissatisfaction. The regrets of the Sicilians and Apulians for their Suevo-Norman sovereigns were gradually assuming an active form. Even the Guelphs, in most parts of Italy, were beginning almost to share the Ghibeline abhorrence for the Guelph prince, raised upon



the ruins of a House, so long the object of their dread and aversion. All eyes now turned to the last scion of that House for relief. It may seem strange that Italian eyes should not have turned to Manfred's sons, as compatriots, rather than to Conradin, who had once been rejected as the German boy. But Manfred's children, with the exception of his eldest daughter, the Crown-Princess of Aragon, besides being mere infants, unable even to appear as leaders, were prisoners in the hands of Charles, and to name them as rivals, would have sealed their death-warrant; whilst Manfred's open recognition of Conradin, as his rightful heir, might not be without influence in their selection of him.

A Ghibeline mission to Germany was committed to Manfred's two surviving gallant uncles, Galvano and Federigo Lancia, who had one mangled, suicide-brother, if not two, as well as their royal nephew, to avenge, and to his two equally gallant friends, Marino and Corrado Capece, the guides of his flight to Luceria. With some companions of less note, they started for Germany, bearers of the nation's invitation to the heir of two splendid dynasties, to place himself at their head, and expel the usurper of his birthright.<sup>(205)</sup> They visited Pisa on their way. This Ghibeline vassal-republic had never ceased to deplore the selfish impulse that had prevented the capture of Charles of Anjou by Guido Novello, and gladly adjoined two of her citizens, charged with liberal proffers of ships, men, and money, to the Sicilian deputies. Sienna followed the example of Pisa, as did the Ghibelines of Lombardy. This deputation from half Italy reached the Court of Bavaria, and laid the wishes and entreaties of their party before the heir and his guardian uncle. A family council was immediately assembled to deliberate upon so momentous a proposal.

To this Council, the Envoys of public feeling and opinion, rather than of any formed confederacy, passionately depicted the intense detestation that Charles had already excited throughout the Sicilies, where the whole nation would rise as one man, at first sight of the lawful heir of their beloved native Kings, Frederic, Conrad, and Manfred. They averred that throughout Italy, whilst the Guelph usurper was hourly more and more alienating the

Guelphs, the oppressed and scattered Ghibelines, weak only from their dispersion, were sighing for a leader, around whom they would instantly congregate; and thus so numerous reinforce any body of Germans Conradin might be able to bring with him, as at once to redeem the enterprise from any reproach of temerity, could such be cast upon the assertion of an indisputable birthright. To these last representations the city deputies, and especially the Pisans, gave weight, by the promises of effective support with which they were charged.

Conradin, now in his fifteenth year, eager for action, as every clever, high-spirited boy will be, and further excited by the achievements of his grandfather, Frederic II, when only one year older than himself, would have instantly closed with the proposals of those who invited him to be their leader, their suzerain, and their king. But his mother, the widowed queen, shuddered at thus risking her son, the only fruit of her splendid marriage with the husband of her youth. She dreaded the country, ever inimical if not fatal to the Swabian dynasty, the country where Henry VI and his grandson, her own Conrad, had, under very suspicious circumstances, died in the prime of life; where her son's grandfather, the mighty Frederic II, had been persecuted and betrayed, till, worn into premature decay, he expired, an old man at little more than fifty years of age; where his uncle Manfred, who, whatever his faults towards his nephew, was an able, valiant warrior and an excellent sovereign, had so recently perished in the toils of the blackest perfidy and treason; where another gallant uncle, Enzo, was pining in hopeless captivity, notwithstanding the incessant efforts of his father and brothers to ransom him. Earnestly she pressed these Italian tragedies upon her brothers and upon her boy, whom she implored to prefer moderate domains in cheerful Swabia, to a kingdom in a land undermined by the powers of darkness; to pass his life amongst honest German kinsfolk and vassals, rather than in a never-ending struggle for an object, probably unattainable, amongst doubtfully loyal subjects, intermingled with known enemies, and worse, with lurking traitors.

The mother's prudence was disdained as mere feminine

cowardice. Conradin's youthful eagerness, in which his cousin Frederic of Austria fully sympathized, was irresistible, perhaps infectious; even his austere uncle, Duke Lewis, and his step-father, Earl Meinhard, both men of an age at which caution usually tempers rashness, and undazzled by personal interest, pronounced the prospect of success so satisfactory, that they would take part in the adventure. Conradin immediately assumed the title of King of Sicily, and the deputies were joyfully dismissed to prepare his Italian partisans, as well as his vassals and subjects, for co-operation in his hazardous undertaking. Corrado Capece was named Viceroy of Sicily, and despatched to collect, as he best could, such a body of troops as might enable him, in spite of the Angevine officials, to land, raise the island on behalf of the rightful heir, and so possess himself of his viceroyalty. To Galvano Lancia were committed friendly overtures to the Roman Senator, whose dissatisfaction with Charles was matter of public notoriety.

Even whilst these preliminary arrangements were in progress, from the very moment that the determination to attempt the adventure was known, knights poured in from all sides, tendering their swords to seat the last of the House of Hohenstaufen upon the throne of his Norman ancestry; where he would, it was hoped, gather strength to recover the grander heritage, the Empire, bequeathed him by his Swabian and Franconian ancestry. All necessary preparations were soon completed; and, at the head of an army, amounting to 10,000 men, Conradin, accompanied by his uncle Lewis, his step-father, and his young kinsman, Frederic of Austria, in the autumn of 1267, crossed the Alps by the Tyrolese pass.

With this army, Conradin, on the 20th of October, reached Verona, and was received by the new Ghibeline Lord of the city, Mastino della Scala, with both the cordiality and the honours due to the heir of so many monarchs, the natural Head of the Ghibelines. Here Conradin paused to concert measures with his Italian partisans, and arrange his future proceedings. And, when he saw deputies from all Lombard Ghibelines gathering around him, he might well feel confident in the promised success.

To Verona came deputies from Palavicino, also from Doara; the Legate, by tricking out of his own share of Cremona, after employing him to steal Palavicino's, had revived his Ghibelinism; and, in expectation of Conradin's triumph over the usurper, anxious to clear himself from suspicion, founded or unfounded, of treachery towards Manfred. Thither came, likewise, deputies from Vicenza, Padua, and Mantua, from the fuorusciti of Ferrara, of Brescia, and of Bergamo; Mantua and Brescia having changed sides since last they were named. These deputies, in the names of their respective senders, professed the warmest joy at the presence in Italy of the heir of the Swabian Emperors and the Norman Kings, together with the most fervent zeal in his cause. At Verona he received an envoy from Don Henrique, who saw his German kinsman's enterprise with satisfaction, as likely to promote his own vengeance upon his tyrannical and selfish French kinsman; and cared little for the future pleasure or displeasure of a Pope, from whom he despaired of obtaining an adjudication in his favour, touching Sardinia. He had therefore readily given ear to Lancia; and, as soon as he learned that Conradin had actually crossed the Alps, prepared actively to promote the success by which he hoped to profit. To this end he had, in the first place, invited the principal Roman Guelphs to a banquet at the capitol; and, when they appeared, seizing his unsuspecting guests, had thrown them into prison. Having thus guarded against any opposition to his measures, he appropriated to his military purposes the hoarded treasures of churches and cloisters, and despatched the envoy in question, to offer Conradin his own and his band's services, including those of his brother, Don Fadrique, and the troop left with him in Africa. To Conradin no offer could have been more welcome; it was thankfully accepted, and a treaty of alliance concluded between the two cousins; which Galvano Lancia, who had returned to the young King of Sicily either with, or before the Envoy, carried to Rome. He was there received as the representative of royalty, and the Swabian banner was displayed upon the city walls. From Apulia, likewise, good tidings reached Verona; tidings that, no sooner did the Lucerian Saracens hear the heir of

the monarch they loved and revered was in arms to assert his birthright, than they openly rose against the usurper, the, to them hateful, creature of a Pope, whom they alike dreaded and detested, and whose troops they appear to have driven away. Many of their Christian neighbours were reported to be secretly in correspondence with the Saracens.

The young Adventurer's heart swelled high with exultation, whilst the pontiff and his royal vassal were seriously alarmed. But not therefore were the mother's forebodings proved idle: the ground was hollow under the sanguine Conradin's feet.

Party spirit in Italy, high as it runs, seldom appears to be quite disinterested. Most of Conradin's zealous partisans expected money, with which at least to equip themselves and their followers, from him; and he, far from having any to give them, had on his part relied upon pecuniary assistance from them, to facilitate his operations. But, if these clamorous demands, and the hesitation consequent upon his inability to satisfy them, seemed thus early to justify the widowed Queen's distrust of Italian loyalty, her confidence in the honest affection of her simple-minded German kindred, for which she would have had her son forego the prospect of winning his patrimonial crown, was not similarly justified. In the Duke of Bavaria, remorse had not produced liberality or disinterestedness. If he did not refuse his nephew the further supply of cash wanted for the relief of his most pressing necessities, he required, as security for the loan, a mortgage of all his remaining yet unincumbered Swabian property. Graf Meinhard is said, in like manner, to have obtained from Conradin a bequest or assignment of his Tyrolese county of Botzen (Italicé, Bolsano).<sup>(206)</sup> The uncle and stepfather, having thus secured to themselves, in case of the worst, the whole of the royal and imperial orphan's actual possessions, alleged such a pious dread of excommunication, as compelled them, upon being threatened with the sentence, immediately to return home with their vassals, leaving the two lads, the eldest under nineteen years of age, unguided, unfriended, amidst the difficulties and perils into which they had deliberately led them, or at

least encouraged them to plunge. A desertion, that seems almost as unaccountable, as heartless; for—though Clement was prodigal of excommunications, interdicts and deposals from dignities, lay or ecclesiastical, towards Conradin's friends, as of vituperation towards the yet innocent boy, to whom he imputed all the sins habitually laid by Guelphs to the charge of his race—the Duke and Earl could not but know, when they embarked in the enterprise, that they were incurring these sentences. And, even were the atrocious conjecture, relative to the uncle, admitted, that he promoted an attempt which he judged desperate, in order to free himself from the burthen of his nephew and cousin, whilst inheriting the property of the former, the step-father could, originally, anticipate no advantage to himself from the destruction of his wife's son. It is possible, however, that, having built upon a spontaneous rising of half Italy, they may have taken fright at the preliminary demand for money, and thus their conduct have simply been, first, rash and next dastardly, rather than originally treacherous or perfidious. Of the volunteer knights, many had by this time exhausted their own resources, and would be disappointed at not being permitted to live at free quarters upon the Italians, whose good will was Conradin's main reliance; others were discouraged by the desertion of two powerful princes, the young leader's pseudo-paternal relatives and chief supporters; and all these followed their example, abandoning the enterprise, to return home.

Conradin's German army was thus reduced from 10,000 to 3000 men; but in the 3000, who had stood the trial, justly did the royal Adventurer feel implicit confidence. Amongst them some writers have again numbered Rudolph of Habsburg, who assuredly might feel his service due to Frederic II's despoiled grandson and heir. But the report does not rest upon good authority; that he should have joined the two armies of Manfred and of Conradin seems unlikely; his name never occurs in the narrative of the expedition; and he does not appear to have again been excommunicated, after his Prussian crusade, as he surely would have been, if with Conradin. Whether Rudolph were with him or not, however, Frederic of Austria remained; and Frederic, whose three years' elder-

ship gave him, in his younger kinsman's eyes, all the dignity and weight of manhood, was everything to Conradin. Moreover, the Italian Ghibelines knew that they were already committed, beyond hope of pardon from Charles and Clement; and saw, that, if they suffered the present, in many respects favourable, opportunity, to pass unused, they would thus renounce the last chance of regaining the ascendancy, or even of recovering their property. Therefore, how grievously soever disappointed and dissatisfied at the meagre support obtained from Germany, they exerted themselves vigorously.

The efforts of the Lombard Ghibelines were early cheered by success in Sicily. Capece had obtained from Pisa the loan of a squadron of ships, with which he had visited Tunis; where the Moslem sovereign, either in kindness to the Castilian princes, who had so long faithfully served him, or to revenge the fall of his old ally, Manfred, readily permitted Don Fadrique to embark with the remainder of the band, consisting of Moors and Spaniards. These, united to Capece's Germans and Italians, made a force of from 800 to 1000 men, but so cramped do they seem to have been for ship-room, that their horses, with the exception of some twenty, were perforce left in Africa. This little army effected a landing in Sicily, where Capece announced himself as Viceroy for King Conrad II—his father Conrad, the fourth, as Emperor, was, there, the first of the name. Charles's governor, Foulque de Puyregard, well knowing the hatred borne by the Sicilians to the French, marched to defeat this handful of invaders before an organized insurrection should supply them with the numbers in which they were deficient. But he was too late to forestall that already organized insurrection. No sooner was the battle fairly engaged, than the Sicilian Barons and their vassals in Puyregard's ranks, tore their Angevine flags to pieces, and displaying Suevo-Norman colours, turned against the French. The abhorred foreign intruders were completely defeated. Puyregard took refuge in Messina, which, trembling under a French garrison, professed loyalty to Charles. But in the course of November, 1267, every part of the island that was not

so coerced, declared for Conradin, acknowledging Capece as his lieutenant.

Charles was pursuing his triumphant, anti-Ghibeline career in Tuscany, when he heard of Don Henrique's deserting his cause, of the insurrection at Luceria, and of the landing in Sicily. The Pope earnestly pressed him to leave the independent Tuscans to themselves, and return home to prepare, by quelling the insurrection, for the defence of his kingdom. But Charles, looking upon Conradin himself as the sole source of danger, judged that, could he be intercepted, and either destroyed or forced to abandon his attempt and retreat, the insurrection would spontaneously fall to pieces. He therefore persevered in his endeavours, to foil any hopes his rival might entertain of help from Tuscan Ghibelines; and his plans seemed most successful; for in the course of January, 1268, he compelled the most formidable of these Tuscan Ghibelines, the Pisans, to sign a treaty of alliance with him. And well pleased was he to have accomplished this, when he found other expectations disappointed. He and Clement had trusted to the known Guelph temper of the lately revived Lombard League, for at least impeding Conradin's advance from Verona. But the anger of Torre at the Pope's pertinacious rejection of his brother, in favour of the detested Visconti, as Archbishop of Milan, conquered his party spirit; and he refused to arm in the cause of the Pope and his King. The influence of Milan induced the League to remain neutral, and Charles was stunned by the intelligence, that, upon the 20th of this same January, Conradin and his army, marching unopposed, as amongst friends, through Lombardy, had reached Pavia.

Much had now been achieved on both sides, but neither could as yet feel success insured. Charles, conscious that he was far from having crushed the Tuscan Ghibelines, saw the importance of excluding his rival from a country that swarmed with secret foes, ready to join any one against himself. He accordingly devoted the months of February and March to guarding those passes of the Apennines, that lead from the vicinity of Pavia into Tuscany. Then, satisfied that every reasonable precaution had been taken, and all



he could hope to do there done, he followed the Pope's advice, and prepared to put down rebellion at home. Again he visited Viterbo on his way, and found Clement, in his horror of the Swabian monarchs, unusually disposed to overlook his royal vassal's offences against truth and humanity. As soon as Charles was secure of cordial co-operation in this quarter, he hastened to his own dominions; despatched part of his army to reinforce his Lieutenant in Sicily, whom he exhorted to mistrust every one, and make the securing Messina his especial business. This done, he led his remaining troops against the Saracens of Luceria.

## CHAPTER IX.

### RICHARD.

*Conradin in Tuscany—at Rome—Success in Sicily—Battle of Tagliacozzo—Flight of Conradin—and Capture—Tyranny of Charles—Fate of Conradin—of his Friends—in Sicily—St. Lewis's last Crusade—Sicilian Vespers.* [1268.

WHILST Charles was thus actively preparing to defend his usurped kingdom, Conradin and his friends were deliberating at Pavia, where his enterprise was really to begin, upon plans for baffling his adversary's precautions, and penetrating into Tuscany, there to gather the Tuscan Ghibelines round their standard. It was a move that required deliberation; even the fiery impetuosity of youth acknowledged, that such an adventure, as Conradin had undertaken, could not be achieved by objectless fighting, at every opportunity; that the plan of the expedition must be, to reach, in unbroken force, the kingdom of Conradin's ancestors, and there, by presenting the lawful heir to the discontented people, excite a general insurrection; which, supported by the Italian Ghibelines, the Germans, and the Roman Senator, should overthrow the usurper. Hence followed, that Conradin's life, the life upon which hung all the hopes of the Apulians, Sicilians, and Italian Ghibelines, was not to be idly risked, before the destined scene of action was attained. But the problem was how, without fighting, to attain that scene of action; how to reach even the frontier of that kingdom, preliminarily effecting a junction, first with the Tuscan Ghibelines, next with Don Henrique? Only two roads offered; the one, by the virulently Guelph Bologna, where Conradin's uncle, Enzo, lay ruthlessly immured; the other through Tuscany, where Pisa, not deeming

herself bound by a compulsory treaty, and having already supplied Capece with vessels, eagerly invited the presence of the hereditary Emperor to whom she renewed her offers of assistance. But access to Tuscany by land, was, if not impossible, yet hazardous, far beyond what the last of his race could be suffered to dare. The envoys of Pisa proposed that the young King should journey with the utmost secrecy, therefore, almost unaccompanied,<sup>(207)</sup> to some safe point of the Ligurian coast, where Pisan vessels should meet him, whilst the army endeavoured to avoid, or, if therein baffled, to break through the guarded passes of the Apennines. This plan was adopted.

But, still, all was not clear; for, which was the safely accessible Ligurian point? Genoa still hesitated which side to take, and enmity to Pisa seemed likely to turn the scale against Conradin. Genoa was therefore to be shunned, and Vado, a small town situate between Savona and Finale, upon the *Riviera*, or line of coast stretching from Nice to the Gulph of Spezzia, was selected. Thither Conradin, accompanied by Frederic, who could not be dissuaded from seeing him safe on board, was securely escorted by the Ghibeline Marchese di Caretta, through whose territory his road lay; there, upon the 22nd of March, he embarked in a Pisan ship, which, convoyed by nine others, transported him to Pisa, where he landed upon the 5th of April. Frederic parted from him at the sea side, returning to Pavia, lest the seeming defection of both princes, should depress the troops. The army then immediately marched, and, guided by Ghibeline mountaineers, skilfully shunning the guarded passes, crossed the mountains by tracks known only to the natives, and entered Tuscany unopposed. As successfully—aided by the mental disturbance, which the sudden appearance of the Ghibeline forces in a locality whence they were thought excluded, produced amongst their enemies—they eluded all the attempts of Charles's Lieutenant, Maréchal Boisselve, to check their advance within its frontiers, rejoining Conradin at Pisa.

Again Pisa did not neglect her own interests, but her care of them at the present opportunity, not being so reckless of consequences, wrought not results as disastrous as upon the recent occasion. Having obtained from Con-

radin, prospectively, against he should be Emperor, a charter granting her large privileges, she frankly gave him the use of a numerous, well appointed and well manned, fleet, intrusting the command and employment—whether clearing Sicily of the French, or otherwise—as should be deemed most expedient to Federigo Lancia.

Conradin then began his march for Rome, at the head of his army, still small, though materially reinforced by Tuscan Ghibelines. He first alarmed Lucca—whence Boisselve withdrew to Florence—and then, turning short southward, proceeded towards Ghibeline Sienna, leaving Charles's Marshal upon his left hand. The shortest road to Rome was now, at least as far as Viterbo, open to the rightful heir of the Sicilies; but his adversary still hoped, by following another line in the same direction, to harass and impede his progress, finally, perhaps, inclosing him between his own army and the strongly garrisoned Viterbo. With this object, Boisselve quitted Florence; but, actuated by arrogant confidence in his numbers and generalship, from Montevarchi he, most unaccountably, sent back the Florentine troops that had thus far accompanied him, refusing all reinforcements whatever.

These movements of the French were reported to Conradin, in whose little council it was resolved, that the opportunity, imprudently offered them, of freeing themselves from an enemy ever hanging upon either their flank or their rear, must not be neglected. A considerable detachment was sent, under one of the Uberti, to lie in ambush near Ponte di Valle, where that enemy would probably cross the Arno. Upon the 25th of June, Boisselve reached Ponte di Valle, unsuspecting of the proximity of a foe, and marching in disorderly confusion. Uberti burst from his ambuscade, and, falling suddenly upon the disorderly hostile troops, completely routed them. Boisselve himself was taken prisoner with 500 knights; P'Étendart, the second in command, fled; and, with the greater part of the army, reached Viterbo.

Tuscany was now free from Charles's foreign mercenaries, and the spirits of the Ghibelines rose, as much as those of the Guelphs sank. At Sienna, Conradin spent some days, and sought to secure active support by granting liberal charters. Thus, again prospectively, as Em-

peror, he, upon the 7th of July, exempted the Siennese from all imperial tolls and duties. From Sienna, he pursued his route as far as Acquapendente unmolested; filling the Papal Court with alarm, notwithstanding the increase of numbers that l'Étendart's flight had brought, to the previously very sufficient garrison.

Immediately upon the appearance of Conradin, in war-like guise, south of the Alps, Clement had commanded him to disband his army, and attend, singly and unarmed, at the foot of the pontifical throne, there to receive his just sentence. This thrice repeated command being, of course, disregarded, he had, on Easter day, punished the disobedience of this refractory representative of a refractory race, by excommunicating him and his partisans, and depriving him of the kingdom of Jerusalem, to which alone, of all his widely spread patrimony, the Popes had hitherto admitted his right. Clement now endeavoured to allay the terror of his court by oracular assurances, that the boy was hurrying to Apulia as to a slaughter-house. His endeavours were unavailing, and it was Conradin who relieved their fears. Even had it been consistent with the plan of the expedition to spare the time requisite for besieging a strong, amply provided, and amply garrisoned town, and had Conradin himself not shrunk from an attack upon the Pope in person, he must have dreaded, by such sacrilegious audacity, to alienate all pious minds from his cause. He turned off to the right, and leaving Viterbo upon his left, marched by Toscanella and Vetrulia to Rome.

At Rome, the Senator, having resolved that Conradin's entry should eclipse the glories of Charles's, prepared to receive the Heir of so many Emperors with Imperial honours. The whole male population of Rome, in military array, but softening their martial appearance with nosegays and wreaths of flowers, marched forth, as far as the foot of Monte Malo, to meet the acknowledged, lawful King of the Sicilies. Thence they escorted him in triumphal procession to the city gate, where the fairest daughters of Rome, maids and matrons, divided into companies distinguished by different uniforms, welcomed him with song and dance. Then, both bands, male and female, forming themselves in marching order, and resuming the

triumphal procession, attended him through festally adorned streets, carpeted with flowers, hung, on either side, with tapestry, precious stuffs, purple silks, and gold-wrought, &c., intermingled with garlands of flowers, with branches of laurel, amidst which glittered and sparkled jewellery of all descriptions; and canopied overhead with the same costly materials, to protect the triumpher from the scorching rays of the sun. Thus was the young Adventurer conducted to the Capitol, where the Senator, with all the Italian Ghibelines and Apulian malcontents he could assemble, awaited him. And now Conradin, surrounded by German, Sicilian, and Apulian nobles, by the most illustrious Italian Ghibelines, by kinsmen of his own imperial blood, legitimate and illegitimate, stood upon the spot whence the world had so long been governed. Young and old made the welkin ring with acclamations in honour of the handsome, as daring boy, of the despoiled heir of so many crowns, of the hitherto successful young hero, gallantly seeking his heritage. The youthful heart swelled high with present triumph, as with proud anticipations.

Historical partisans of Conradin's have thrown doubts upon the sincerity of Don Henrique's friendship for his German cousin, imputing to the Spaniard, if not actual collusion with Charles, yet Machiavelian plans for using and disappointing the royal Adventurer, overthrowing, first, Charles, by Conradin, then Conradin, and ultimately possessing himself of the Sicilies, to which he could not by possibility devise the shadow of a pretension. The Infante appears to have been a selfish, recklessly bold, and, perhaps, unprincipled Condottiere, who would unquestionably have claimed exorbitant recompense for his services! Sardinia and the Senatorship for life at the least. But, that he had no secret understanding with Charles, is proved by his fate; and to suspect him of plotting against the life of Conradin under the very eye of Galvano Lancia, or, according to some of his accusers, with that seduced Envoy, whose fidelity to Conradin, his own and his son's blood attested, is surely to revel in gratuitous suspicion. At all events, if the purposed first move was, to seat Conradin on the Sicilian throne, any ulterior scheme could not affect his conduct in the present expedition.

The general exultation at Rome was heightened by tidings from Sicily. Federigo Lancia, after sailing along the Neapolitan coast, everywhere alarming Charles's officers and partisans and arousing the discontented to thoughts of action, had turned to Sicily and anchored off Milazzo. Capece and Don Fadrique, with the loyal insurgents, had now superior numbers, and a decisive blow might, at that moment, have been struck, had the authority been concentrated in a single hand. But neither Don Fadrique, as a prince, and leader of a band of auxiliaries, alike independent and important, nor Lancia, as Admiral of the Pisan fleet, was willing to acknowledge the superior authority claimed by Conrad Capece, as the Lieutenant appointed by the young King, whilst, according to some chroniclers, another Conrad, the Conte di Alba, Frederic of Antioch's son, autonomically assumed the title of Viceroy. The four Chiefs differed as to the course to be pursued, and the consequent delay gave time for a Provençal fleet of twenty-two sail, under the command of Robert Lavenue, a Provençal legist, suddenly transformed into an admiral, to arrive. A squadron of Charles's, stationed in the harbour of Messina, immediately joined the new comers.

At sea, the superiority was now on the side of the French; who knew that, on land, Capece was unable to control even the insurrection that he had called into existence, or to repress the prevalent anarchy. They therefore held themselves superior on both elements, on the one to a fleet inferior in numbers, on the other, to a disorderly mob of royalists; and eagerly they prepared to engage on land and at sea simultaneously. But the approach of danger had banished dissension and jealousy from amongst the leaders of Conradin's forces; and, as eagerly as the French, they prepared for the double encounter. The 11th of August was fixed, it might almost seem by common consent, for the struggle. The naval action took the lead, and for a while, ruin lowered over the rightful cause. One half of the Pisan fleet attacked the Provençal, the other the Messinese vessels; the first division, manifestly unequal to the Provençaux, was maintaining its ground with difficulty, when the second, to the consternation of their

friends on shore, and the exuberant joy of their enemies every where, giving way before the Messinese, fled, impetuously pursued. The French fancied the victory theirs; but it was the old stratagem of the one Horatius against the three, unequally wounded, Curiatii. The impetuosity of pursuit scattered the Messinese; and upon this had the veteran sailors of Pisa reckoned. They now turned upon their pursuers, assailed the dispersed ships singly, or in small detachments, successively captured or sunk them, and then hastened to assist their countrymen against the Provençaux. But their assistance was no longer needed. The courage of the lawyer-admiral being cooled by the disaster of his allies, he had already fled, and few indeed of Charles's Provençal ships escaped capture or destruction.

Puyregard, dispirited by the issue of the naval battle, abandoned all thoughts of engaging, and retreated, as fast as was consistent with good order, to protection within the walls of Messina. Had the victors been discreet, he might have found that an unsafe asylum; inasmuch as the Messinese were even then meditating to seek in French property compensation for the loss of their navy, by delivering up the town, upon condition of being so compensated, to the officers of their lawful, hereditary King. But the Pisans, their selfishness uncured even by experience of its baneful consequences, would not let slip an opportunity of crippling the mercantile marine of a rival, though that rival was about to become a friend. Favoured by the wind, they set the captured vessels on fire, in a position whence they drifted into the port of Messina, against the merchantmen there moored, and close to houses built along the shore. The flames caught the shipping and the houses on the quay, doing great damage; and the citizens, thus irritated against the allies of him to whom they were about to swear allegiance, were half reconciled to their French masters. But, if Conradin thus failed at once to win Messina, the rest of Sicily was indisputably his; for his Pisan fleet rode mistress of the sea, and the French soldiers lurked, in very doubtful security, behind the walls of towns, mostly hostile to them.

When Rome heard these glad tidings, Conradin was preparing to prosecute his enterprise, but not by the road



which treason had two years before opened to his enemy. Don Henrique knew that Charles had concentrated his defensive efforts upon the pass, which, had bribery failed, he could not, he was well aware, without an immense cost of time, labour, and blood, if with it, have forced. Conradin's Council resolved, therefore, to avoid the strongly guarded road by Ceperano and the bridge over the Garigliano, attempting the next pass of the mountain range, at all practicable for an army. This pass was, in many respects, preferable, though by nature far more difficult, and therefore, perhaps, neglected by Charles. Lying fifty miles east of Ceperano, it led into the Abruzzi, towards the very part of the kingdom, where insurrection in favour of the heir of the Suevo-Norman Kings, might most confidently be expected; viz., the Capitanata, where Saracens and their Christian confederates were already in arms.

Upon the 18th of August, just a week after his naval victory, Conradin, hitherto successful beyond all reasonable calculation, even to the utmost of his inviters' promises, and reinforced by his Spanish kinsman's band of veterans, quitted Rome to consummate his daring enterprise. He marched up the fair valley of the Teverone, passing Tivoli, to Cursoli. Thence, with painful toil, but unopposed by man, and contending only against natural obstacles, the little army penetrated into the very heart of the mountains. They struggled through gorges and ravines, barely admitting two abreast, between the torrent and the vertically rising rock, along the side of precipices, up and down sheep, or rather goat tracks, of steepness well nigh perpendicular, in short through difficulties analogous to those that had impeded Manfred's flight, but more superable in broad daylight and with abundant assistance.

At length, all were surmounted. The royal youth stood upon the summit of the last, loftiest, and most abrupt range, with the beautiful land, for which he came to fight, outspread beneath his gaze. In the distance, encircled by cultivated fields intermixed with vineyards, with groves of fig, olive, and orange, lay the fair lake of Celano, reflecting the bright blue of a southern sky, whilst, in every cosy nook of the surrounding mountains, nestled a village, and upon many a boldly projecting crag, half way to the

summit, perched another. The road to Sulmone seemed open before him, and, at Sulmone, he was to find himself in the midst of the most loyal subjects of his forefathers. The boy-hero felt his daring adventure achieved, felt one ancestral crown already upon his brow. But, as he descended from the Apennine ridge, he learned that actually open the Sulmone road was not; that Charles was hurrying, with what troops he could upon the sudden emergency collect, to oppose his further progress. Therefore passing Tagliacozzo, one of the just described mountain nests, he encamped not far from Scurcola, upon a plain, the extent of which, nearly inclosed as it was by the mountains, afforded a decided advantage to his army, superior in numbers, especially in cavalry, to that which was coming against him. His camp was strongly posted; protected by a stream, the Salto, and by the inaccessibility of the sheltering mountains.

Charles, expecting Conradin's advance by the same pass though which he himself had invaded Apulia, and therefore, relying upon the time required to break through the defences there accumulated, had remained before Luceria, devoting his attention to the siege. And justly did he esteem crushing the Saracen insurrection, ere headed by the Prince it proclaimed, a main object. But, having too long delayed his attack, Don Henrique's strategy baffled him. The intelligence, that his adversary had chosen a road guarded only by natural difficulties, surprised, but did not perplex him. The measures to be thereon taken were self-evident; and instantly raising the siege, he hastened northward by forced marches, to encounter the invaders, ere they could join the Capitanata insurgents.

Upon the 22d of August, he reached the mountains, girdling the plain on which Conradin was encamped; and pitched his tents in a strong position, upon a height commanding the road to Sulmone, and within a mile of Alba, a town seated upon an insulated rock, that protected, or threatened, his right flank. From Conradin's camp he was here nearly three miles distant.

Conradin, immediately arraying his little army, offered battle, which, under any circumstances, was not likely, at the close of a series of forced marches, to be immediately

accepted. But Charles was numerically too weak to encounter his enemy upon even ground; whilst his position was too strong to be assaulted, even with a greater superiority of numbers than Conradin possessed. The rival hosts, that decided the fate of a kingdom, have been variously estimated, Charles's at 3000 or 6000 men, Conradin's at 5000, 9000, 10,000, and even 16,000,<sup>(208)</sup> the probability being that 5000 and 10,000, respectively, come nearest the truth. The rivals gazed idly at each other, till darkness induced the invader to retire into his camp. In the night, Charles learned, that a deputation from Aquila was carrying presents and the keys of the city to Conradin's camp. To avert the desertion of a town locally important, he instantly mounted, and almost unattended, galloped thither; by flatteries, promises, and threats, he secured the fidelity of Aquila, and the stores in its warehouses for his use, and was in his tent again before dawn.

In the morning Conradin again offered battle, dividing his army into two bodies; the one composed of Don Henrique's band, of the Lombards under Galvano Lancia, and of the Tuscans, under Conte Donoratico, the Pisan, the whole seemingly commanded by the Infante; the second, of his Germans under himself and Frederic. Still Charles remained immovable. To him, alarmed at the evident disparity betwixt his forces and Conradin's, to accept or decline an engagement, appeared equally fraught with ruin; since, in the first case, defeat seemed inevitable, in the second, he laid the heart of the kingdom, where the Saracens were in arms, open to the claimant of his crown.

Unfortunately for the last heir of the Norman Kings, as of the Swabian and Franconian Emperors, and for those whose hopes rested upon him, the *Sieur* Alard de St. Valery, a veteran Crusader, having landed in Italy, on his return from the Holy Land, had deemed paying his respects to the brother of his King, an indispensable piece of courtesy in a French knight; and was then in the camp for this purpose. To him, as to an experienced compatriot, the French prince applied for counsel in his perplexity; and St. Valery pronounced that, unless a battle were there fought and won, the kingdom was lost; that victory by open force was impossible; and, that the only stratagem

which he thought offered a chance of success, besides being most hazardous, could offer that chance only through secrecy so impenetrable, that not even to the King himself might it be disclosed. The command of the army must be transferred, wholly and unrestrictedly to him who devised it. Charles, in his despair, caught at any chance of relief; and trusting to the veteran's skill, he surrendered the command of the army, thus unrestrictedly, to him, pledging himself the first to implicit obedience.

St. Valery then selected 800 of the best knights, with the King and Earl Robert at their head, whom he reserved for future secret disposal. The rest of the army he divided into two bodies; the one, consisting of Provençals, Lombards, and a few Romans, under Gaucelme and l'Étendart, he ordered to descend into the plain, and by attempting to possess themselves of the bridge over the Salto, invite an attack; the other, of Frenchmen, under Maréchal Cousance, to occupy the slope of the hill, and not succour their comrades until they saw them reduced to the last extremity. He further ordered both Leaders not to resist too obstinately, but to fly, keeping their people together as well as they could, and returning to the field, with all the men they could rally, the moment the slackening of the pursuit should give them an opportunity of so doing. To conceal from both friend and foe the King's absence from the field, Cousance, who nearly resembled him in figure, was directed to wear the ensigns of royalty. These corps despatched to their posts, St. Valery ensconced himself, with Charles and his 800 knights, in a mountain gorge, where, from the formation of the ground and the position of the wood upon the heights above them, they were completely hidden, both from their adversaries, and from the inhabitants of Alba and Scarcola, who were known warmly to favour their hereditary prince.

The first division had hurried down to the plain and attempted to obtain possession of the bridge, which, from the stream's running between them and the hostile troops, seemed to be no unreasonable military object. Of course the attempt, from the inadequate force of the assailants, failed; when Don Henrique crossing the little river by several fords, fell upon these disordered troops, overpowered

them by his numbers, routed, and pursued them, as St. Valery had concluded that he would, with a wild impetuosity, that altogether lost sight of the yet unbroken hostile array. Cousance was, nevertheless, in full view; having advanced, according to his orders, at the last moment, to support his defeated friends. Him the Germans encountered, and in a short, but sharp conflict, he was slain; when his French troops, who, deceived as was intended, by his accoutrements, mistook him for Charles, deeming all lost, fled in their turn. The Germans did not, like their more impetuous southern allies, pursue; but, after remaining awhile in order of battle upon the ground, believing the victory theirs, the usurper slain, and the kingdom won, withdrew, hot and weary but exulting, to their tents.

When the first division was put to flight, Charles had been impatient to break out of his ambush and support them; but St. Valery reminded him of his vowed obedience, and he submitted. When the like fate befel the second, he could hardly be restrained. Even this iron-hearted man wept hot tears of rage and shame, wildly exclaiming, that tamely to see his whole army annihilated was as absurd as infamous. But St. Valery forcibly withheld him, asking: "And what could 800 men do against thousands, upon their guard, and fired with success? Wait till the southern blood of the Italians and Spaniards shall, in the frantic ardour of pursuit, have hurried them beyond reach of the sound of battle; till northern phlegm and inability to endure the burning rays of an August sun in Apulia, shall have driven these Germans, after plundering the dead, to seek relief from a temperature, so uncongenial to their frames, in disencumbering themselves of their burthensome armour, in the bath and the banquet, or in sleep. Then will our little band be more than a match for their numbers; then will your rival be slain, or a captive in your hands."

Charles yielded to the argument; and, as St. Valery had but too wisely foreseen, Conradin, satisfied that not only was the victory his, but his enemy annihilated, and his task accomplished, permitted his Germans to collect the booty and seek rest and refreshment, after the heat and

toil of the day. "Now is the time!" cried St. Valery; and bursting with his little troop from their concealment, he galloped upon the hostile camp. Even this sight did not warn the recent victors to prepare for new strife, as, unobservant from a sense of security, they imagined the approaching squadron to be part of Don Henrique's men, returning from the pursuit. It was not till the troop of French knights fell upon them like a thunderbolt, dealing death and destruction around, that a possibility of danger was suspected. Vainly then did Conradin, Frederic, and the other chiefs, endeavour to reunite and array the scattered victors, urging them to snatch up whatever weapon came to hand, and defend their lives. What could unarmed, disordered, and bewildered men effect? All fled, hurrying their leaders, who were absorbed in their fruitless efforts to rally the fugitives, along with them in their flight.

Now would the French Knights fain have either pursued the flying Germans, or plundered the camp; Charles himself being very reluctant, to see the competitor for his crown escape his grasp. But the veteran Crusader was not to be caught in the snare he himself had successfully set for another. He knew that the Spanish prince must ere long return, with numbers far superior to his troop, though he hoped in a good deal of careless disorder: to balance which superiority, to profit by which disorder, the troop must remain in battle array, upon the ground previously occupied by the Germans. He trusted thus for the second time within a few hours, to dupe his antagonists with the semblance of friends.

As St. Valery expected, Don Henrique, after having so unfortunately, if scarce imprudently, pursued the flying foe to a considerable distance, halted to return; and took a somewhat divergent line, for the purpose of seizing, perhaps of appropriating the plunder of Charles's camp. As he and his men looked down from the tented eminence, they saw a troop in order of battle on the plain, but mistook them, as St. Valery intended they should, for the equally victorious German division, and descended the hill in heedless confusion, to rejoice with their comrades in the common triumph. Again not till their weapons gave

incontrovertible proof of enmity was the identity of the band mistrusted.

But Don Henrique's corps, if surprised and in some confusion, was not unarmed, and the princely Condottiere was too experienced a soldier to be easily thrown off his bias. A glance showed him the disastrous fact, and with the exclamation: "If fortune have cruelly turned against us, our swords must force her to turn again!" he arrayed his men for a second engagement. His ranks were soon ordered, and his numbers still so superior to those of the French victors, that St. Valery, for the third time this day, had recourse to stratagem. He now told Charles that he would himself fly, with a portion of their troop, taking the direction in which their two divisions had fled before, until the Italians and Spaniards, again falling into the previous snare, should, by their heedless pursuit, again so break their ranks and scatter themselves, as to enable the pursuing King to attack them at disadvantage; when he, on his part, would turn upon them, reinforced, he trusted, by their own fugitives; who, if returning, as ordered, might now be momentarily expected. The scheme was executed as devised, and again successfully. The imaginary victors, who again dreamt only of pursuing routed fugitives, were confounded at finding themselves between two onslaughts. War had, however, as before said, too long been the trade of Don Henrique and his band for a surprise to rob them of self-possession; they fought resolutely till the gradual rallying of all Charles's fugitives round his standard, swelled his ranks to a degree nearly as disproportionate as before, though in the opposite direction. Half of Conradin's army, depressed by the consciousness that the other half must have been vanquished, now had to contend against the whole of Charles's. Don Henrique was overpowered, defeated, and, in his turn, put to flight.

That very evening the victorious King despatched the news of his victory to the Pope. In his letter he says: "The battle was harder fought and more sanguinary than that of Benevento. Whither Conradin, Frederic of Austria, and the Infante of Castile have fled, no one knows; but

the charger of the latter has been recognised amongst the horses we have taken."

If this last part of the account were not a misrepresentation, generated by the hope of a reward for good tidings, the prince must have changed his horse, in the idea that being supposed slain would facilitate his escape. For Don Henrique, when he abandoned the struggle as hopeless, rode off, well mounted and accompanied, altogether in such good plight, that, upon reaching the Abbey of Montecassino, he ventured to announce a complete victory gained by the young King and himself, over the usurper. But the shrewd Abbot at once perceived improbability, in the leader, next in command, as in rank, to Conradin himself, appearing as the herald of such a victory; and that at the head of so small a party. For so small was it, that, when suspicion was thus excited, the monks were able forcibly to detain the Infante and his company, until the truth should be ascertained. Having learned the real posture of affairs, the Abbot, by his proceedings, marked his opinion of his French Sovereign. He began by demanding and obtaining from the victorious King a solemn promise not to shed blood, so near akin to his own, as the Castilian Infante's, and then delivered up his prisoners to him. The promise was kept; the King resisted the temptation to put his creditor cousin to death; but he shut him up in a prison, and in that prison the luckless Prince, *Condottiere*, and Roman Senator, was still pining, two and twenty years after the battle of Tagliacozzo.<sup>(309)</sup>

Conradin and Frederic, when irresistibly borne away from the fatal field, made straight for Rome, where, as well from the zeal so lately displayed in favour of the heir of the Sicilies and of the Empire, as from the Senator's influence, they trusted to find friendship and assistance. Upon their way thither, they were joined by Galvano Lancia and his son, by Doronatico, and other noble Ghibelines of Don Henrique's division. The Senator's deputy, Guido di Montefeltro, received them as they expected, and a few Roman barons and principal citizens, whose interests were identified with theirs, expressed cordial sympathy and readiness to assist in remedying the late reverse. But the



fickle multitude had shouted for Conradin triumphant, for Conradin at the head of an army that, defeating the usurper, was, by a single victory, to seat him upon his hereditary throne. Conradin, a fugitive, from a lost battle and a scattered army, was a different person; as different was the influence of the deputy, from that of the present Senator. Coldness and hesitation became apparent; the return of the Orsini and other expelled Guelphs was talked of; rumours of the approach of King Charles at the head of his victorious troops, were circulated. Safety and support must, Conradin and his friends saw, be sought elsewhere.

In Sicily, they could defend themselves, and renew the war; the little party, therefore, directed their steps to the sea coast, which they reached at Astura. They there found a vessel ready to sail either for Sicily or for Pisa; which of them mattered little, since at Pisa they could easily obtain conveyance to their goal. They embarked, put to sea, and congratulated each other upon their escape—upon the certainty of accomplishing their immediate object. But something about them, whether their number, their dress, their hurry, or their demeanour, had attracted notice in the small town, and their passage was reported to the Lord of Astura, who, conjecturing that the persons described must be fugitives from a lost battle,—whether the catastrophe of Tagliacozzo were yet known to him or not,—and fugitives, moreover, of high condition, instantly ordered a well-manned and well-armed galley to pursue and bring them back. Their very inferior trading craft was speedily overtaken, and ordered to put about. The crew was prompt to obey, and resistance, on the part of Conradin and his friends, impossible. The deepest despondency overwhelmed them at this check, just as they deemed all danger past. But when to the inquiry, “Who is the Lord of Astura?” the answer received was, “Giovanni Frangipani,” that despondency vanished.

No Italian family lay under greater obligations to Conradin’s ancestors, than the Frangipani. His great-grandmother, Constance, and his grandfather, Frederic II, had bestowed large domains upon the grandfather and grand-uncle of this Giovanni; Frederic II had further, as before mentioned, purchased allodial estates of the Lord of Astura’s

father and uncle, when pressed for money, immediately and gratuitously granting them those estates in fief, and, besides rebuilding their houses and towers, destroyed in Roman troubles, had made the whole family ample compensation for all damage therein suffered. In addition to all these substantial favours, Giovanni himself had received knighthood from the Emperor's own hand; a sacredly binding tie, in the code of chivalry. Neither had the Frangipani failed to profess the most devoted attachment to Frederic II. That, since the death of their imperial benefactor, they had done homage to Innocent IV, for the fiefs received from Frederic and his mother, weighed, in Conradin's estimation, as a feather in the scale: so did the report that his cousin, Frederic's uncle, Frederic the Combative, had been killed, perhaps unfairly, by a revengeful Frangipani, whom he had wronged. Without an apprehension, therefore, of any evil, beyond a slightly prolonged detention from the scene of action, Sicily, the party submitted to what they could not avoid.

When brought before Giovanni Frangipani, Conradin announced himself, and called upon his captor to testify his gratitude for the favours which Suevo-Norman sovereigns had conferred upon his family, by protecting Frederic II's grandson, the rightful heir of the Sicilies, and helping him to join the friends upholding his cause in the island. He promised abundantly to guerdon whatever assistance he might obtain from him, and, according to some accounts, offered to marry his daughter.<sup>(210)</sup> But the Lord of Astura was inaccessible to generous motives or a sense of duty; and in matters of interest, either held a daughter's very subordinate to his own; or was simply governed by the old saw, touching the relative value of birds in the hand and in the bush. A party of Charles's troops had tracked the fugitives to Astura, and to their leader, Frangipani sold his prisoners; the price he bargained for being four considerable fiefs, which the leader in question undertook that Charles should bestow upon the traitor. Frangipani delivered up Conradin and his companions, and obtained in remuneration, not the promised four, but one fief, near Benevento. The reader must not, on account of the date of the subsequent transaction, lose the small satisfaction

of knowing that in Charles's war with the Aragonese, some years later, the latter conjointly with the Sicilians, destroyed Astura and killed Giovanni Frangipani.<sup>(211)</sup>

The prisoners were immediately carried to Naples, and the indignities to which they were subjected upon their road thither, were calculated to forewarn them of the fate there awaiting them. In the first instance, however, their arrival was felt by them as a relief, for, though shut up in prison, they do not appear to have been ill used, or denied each other's society. Conradin and Frederic were certainly confined together.

The whole of the continental portion of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the single exception of Luceria—which held out till the next year—now submitted in gloomy despondency to the conqueror. Those who had favoured the vanquished heir, studied to dissemble, or, where that was hopeless, to expiate the offence. But hardly could hypocrisy conciliate the ruthless as rapacious Charles, who, even if he had not a morbid pleasure in bloodshed, looked to confiscation as a source of profit. His treatment of prisoners of war, when from his rapid and easy success he could not be peculiarly irritated, has been seen; those now taken he considered as rebels not entitled to the character of prisoners of war; and a few specimens of his mode of dealing with them will suffice to shew his disposition.

Alba had rashly avowed her joy, when, upon the fatal day of Tagliacozzo, the victory had appeared to be Conradin's. When all was lost, she attempted no defence; but the prompt throwing open of her gates could not avert punishment, amounting to destruction, so complete, that down to the present day, only a mass of ruins marks the site of a once thriving, now obliterated town. The citizens of Potenza, guilty of a similar crime, thought to evade a similar lot by murdering all their nobles, as though they alone had been guilty of loyalty to the hereditary monarch, actually constraining the Guelph population to disguise their sentiments. Falsehood, backed by massacre, availed but in part; the town, if not demolished, was sacked; numbers of the citizens were executed, and their houses demolished. The baseness of Corneto was more successful.

Her crime was, having given up French horses to the partisans of Conradin. The magistrates now invited the best citizens to the castle, to consult upon the line of conduct to be adopted; made them prisoners as they sat at supper, and sent them, 106 in number, to the King, as the sole authors of the iniquitous act. Charles immediately ordered the execution of 103, and the remaining three to be carried to Melfi. What he proposed there doing with them, is uncertain; inasmuch as they, apprehending that death was to be preceded by torture, or merely wishing to disappoint the murderer of their friends, whatever his purpose, flung themselves down a precipice on the way thither. Charles's thirst of blood was now so far assuaged, that Corneto was spared; but this was the limit of his mercy. Throughout the continental provinces all who had, in any way, betrayed good will towards Conradin, the lowest as well as the highest, were diligently sought out, and either mutilated, or put to death, or reduced to beggary by the confiscation of all they possessed. Such of the Roman citizens as, having dutifully followed their Senator to the field, had been made prisoners, he for the further indulgence of his sanguinary nature, called rebels; and as such, first ordered their feet to be cut off, then, shutting them all up together in one building, set it on fire, reducing it and them to ashes.<sup>(212)</sup>

Could Conradin have reached Sicily with his friends, the war might have ended differently; he might at least have kept possession of the island, as once more a separate kingdom. But the tidings of defeat, followed by those, yet more disheartening, of the capture of him for whom the struggle was making, crushed the spirit of all. Hence, upon l'Étendart's landing with a large body of French troops, the contest was abandoned; not discreetly, by treaty, providing for the safety of all, but individually, as cowardice and treachery prompted. The example of both was set at Augusta, which, whilst bravely defending itself, was, by some traitors amongst the citizens, surreptitiously delivered up to l'Étendart. They had their well merited reward. Neither rank, age, nor sex escaped; he cut betrayed and betrayers alike to pieces. And, when the brutal appetite of the soldiery for blood, was sated, when their arms actually ached with slaughter, l'Étendart sent for stout executioners,

whom he commanded, as though death were too mild a punishment for resistance to an usurper, to enhance its pangs by previous or concomitant torture; and he stimulated their ferocity with wine, whenever they seemed weary, or sickened at the task assigned them. Not a soul was left alive in Augusta.

The leaders themselves now despaired. Don Fadrique got on board a Pisan ship, and thus, with Federico Lancia, effected his escape. Conrad, Conte d'Alba, was taken prisoner: but, fortunately for him, his wife, Beatrice Lancia, held some captured relations of a Cardinal, securely guarded in a castle that still owned her as its mistress. She announced her immovable determination to treat them as her husband should be treated; and by the Pope's earnest intervention in their behalf, Conrad was exchanged for them; retiring into private life, upon the ruin of his kindred, he is heard of no more. Capece alone, with his Germans and Tuscans, remained unsubdued, or, more correctly, still free at Contorbe; for subdued the spirit of his troops was, and they bargained with l'Étendart for their own safety, as the price of delivering their general into his hands. When the traitors prepared to execute their part of the nefarious bargain, they found Capece standing in the porch of a church. Instead of seeking the protection of sanctuary within the sacred edifice, he thus calmly addressed them: "I am aware of your intentions, and am willing to sacrifice myself for you; but take you care that your own safety be thereby really insured. Crime grows bolder with success, and, after my death, French perfidy is as likely, as not, to destroy every one of you." The emotion, which the heroic generosity of these words could not but excite, was insufficient to revive the courage or change the purpose of the spiritless Judas-soldiers. One of the ringleaders answered: "Lord General, we cannot all be saved; and delivering you up purchases the liberty of all the rest; so do not strive against us. Besides, we fully hope you will be pardoned, as l'Étendart has promised us, that if he gets Contorbe without losing a man, he will do his utmost for you." Capece made no reply, but mounting his horse, rode with them into the enemy's camp.

And how did l'Étendart keep his promise to the mu-

tineers? A worthy officer of Charles of Anjou, he instantly put out Capece's eyes, and then sent him, blinded and betrayed, to Catanea, to be there hanged upon the sea-shore.<sup>(213)</sup> Two more of the Capece brothers, were, after the same fashion, executed at Naples, by the King's own command; but it is some little solace, amidst such horrors, to learn, that tyranny did not extirpate this noble race. Not only is the name found in subsequent history; the family exists at the present day, still bearing upon their coat of arms, or as the motto to their crest, the Swabian name,<sup>(214)</sup> in witness of ancestral, indomitable loyalty, through a period of perfidy and treason. The lot of the troops who sold their Commander is not known; they would, probably, be enlisted or massacred by Charles, accordingly as he did, or did not, want soldiers.

Clement, who in the first instance had rejoiced, like, not the self-entitled Father of Christendom, but, a partisan, at Conradin's defeat and capture, was, by these executions, recalled to sentiments more consonant with the character he claimed. Again he remonstrated with his chosen royal vassal, earnestly imploring him to be merciful towards his surviving captives. But mercy was alien to Charles; and the only effect of the Pope's rebukes and admonitions, was to superinduce hypocrisy upon his original cruelty. He endeavoured to transfer the responsibility from his own to other shoulders, assuring his Holiness, that the fate of the pretender to his crown should be judicially determined, by an unimpassioned, impartial tribunal.<sup>(215)</sup>

Professedly for this purpose, the King summoned an assembly of Apulian Barons, of *Sindichi* (Magistrates), or Deputies of Apulian towns,—selecting them from the provinces generally known as most Guelph in disposition—and of Judges and Doctors learned in the law, from all parts of the kingdom, to Naples, there constituting them a High Court of Justice. Before this tribunal he did not produce his prisoners; but in their absence, in the absence of any vicarious protector of their interests, he laid a sort of indictment against Conradin, accusing him of sins against the Church, of rebellion and high treason against his lawful King; whereby he and all his accomplices, *i. e.*, his friends and fellow captives, had incurred the penalty of death.

The whole Court was horror-stricken at hearing the accusations, upon which judgment was to be pronounced; but, mindful of the King's savage cruelty, the members looked at each other in mute dismay, shrinking alike from what they saw was expected of them, and from giving utterance to their real sentiments. At length, a Doctor of Laws, Guido da Suzara, so called from his birth-place, Suzara, in the present duchy of Modena, arose. He had been Professor of Law at Modena, Bologna, at almost every Italian University; and in his lectures had, with bold severity, reprobated the arbitrary use of torture, then habitual. He now, with a firmness befitting the high office of an expounder and teacher of law and justice, thus spoke: "Conradin came hither not as a rebel or robber, but fully convinced of his right to the crown. He has committed no crime, having only endeavoured, by open war, to recover the hereditary kingdom of his ancestors. He is a prisoner of war—taken, moreover, not as an assailant, but as a fugitive—and to treat prisoners of war mercifully, is enjoined by all laws, human and divine."

This valiant assertion of truth, law, and justice, appears to have so astonished Charles, as to throw him quite off his guard. Forgetting his hypocritical professions of non-interference, he impatiently exclaimed, that Conradin was guilty of sacrilege, his troops having burnt convents—equally forgetting, it should seem, the similar far worse deeds of his own army at Benevento. Again Guido fearlessly spoke, asking: "What proof is there that Conradin or his friends sanctioned the crime? Have not other armies done the same? And are not offences against the Church to be judged exclusively by the Church?"

Courage is almost as infectious as cowardice, and stimulated by Guido's generous daring, the whole tribunal,<sup>(216)</sup> with a single exception, solemnly acquitted Conradin and his friends. Respecting the identity of this one, resolutely time-serving, judge, some little uncertainty prevails. By most historians he is stated to have been Roberto di Bari, the Gran-Protonotario; a man represented as having been deficient alike in learning and in honesty; whilst more recent authors assert this single exception to have been a

Provençal, whose name and condition are unknown, the Gran-Protonotario having merely, in his official capacity, pronounced the sentence which he had no share in determining.<sup>(217)</sup> The older version, as will presently be seen, is most consonant with the subsequent circumstances of this iniquitous transaction. But whether an unknown Provençal, or the Gran-Protonotario, in slavish adulation of a dreaded tyrant, affirmed the guilt of the unfortunate prisoners of war, the tyrant, incensed at losing, through the virtue of his tribunal, the thick shroud he had hoped to cast over his sanguinary vengeance, eagerly caught at this transparent veil. He accepted the single servile voice, that had breathed the word Guilty, as delivering the unanimous verdict of the High Court of Justice, and at once, either in person, or through the official organ of Roberto di Bari, pronounced sentence of death upon the convicted rebels, Conradin and his accomplices.<sup>(218)</sup>

Conradin and Frederic, unapprehensive of any worse fate than prolonged imprisonment, to young spirits bad enough, were playing at chess when their strange trial, and yet stranger doom, were announced to them. They received the unexpected intelligence with calm fortitude, and employed the brief span of life remaining to them, as did their fellow prisoners, in the duties of religion and the arrangement of their temporal affairs. Conradin confirmed his previous testamentary dispositions, bequeathing his German possessions to his maternal uncles; and in his will, as before intimated, there is no allusion to any matrimonial engagement, complete or contemplated.

The scaffold for this unprecedented execution was erected upon the sea shore, in a spot which now bears the name of *Il Mercato*—as though the sole Neapolitan market—and, according to some authorities, in front of a church, dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel; according to others, upon the site where a coffee-house now stands. The whole district was then without the city walls, and either locality commanded a view of all the far-famed beauties of the Bay of Naples. Charles afterwards there built the castle named *Del Carmine*, because adjoining the Carmelite church and monastery,<sup>(219)</sup> making the castle



itself a piece of the wall, which he was then greatly extending, and which, by inclosing, made the whole theatre of the tragedy part of the town.

Upon the 29th of October, 1268, the day appointed for the performance of the last act, the open space in question was thronged with Neapolitans, eager, whether in sympathy with the victims or the executioner, to gaze upon an exciting spectacle. Conradin and his companions in misfortune, were now, little more than two months after the downfall of their proud hopes on the plain of Tagliacozzo, brought thither. The executioner, ready prepared for the discharge of his dreadful functions, awaited them upon the scaffold; the King, thirsting for the blood of a rival in his clutches, took his seat at the open window, or in the balcony, of a neighbouring fort; by his command, the Gran-Protonotario thus addressed the assembled multitude: "Men of Naples! this Conradin, the son of Conrad, came from Germany to seduce the Apulian and Sicilian nations; to reap a harvest not his own, lawlessly attacking our lawful sovereign. Favoured by accident, he was at first successful; but soon, by the energy of King Charles, was the victor vanquished; and he who held himself bound by no laws, has been brought bound before the tribunal of the monarch he strove to overthrow. Therefore, with the permission of the Clergy, and by the advice of Judges, and of Doctors learned in the Law, has sentence of death been passed upon him and his accomplices, as robbers, rebels, traitors, and seducers of the people to rebellion; and to prevent all possibility of further danger, they will immediately be executed in your presence."

Although the multitude must surely have supposed the scaffold to be erected for an execution, the general murmur that arose seemed to indicate surprise, as well as horror, at a doom, contrary alike to law and to justice. But fear of Charles predominated over indignation, and only a single voice dared to express the general feeling; but, at the impulse of regard for a wife's father, strangely directed the storm of that indignation solely against the tool, sparing the tool's employer. The misdirection is, however, some proof that the Protonotario was not a mere officer, discharging his official duty, but an active agent. The voice was

that of the King's son-in-law, Earl Robert de Bethune, heir of Flanders. He sprang forward, shouting: "Impudent, law-perverting scoundrel! How presumest thou to doom so noble, so princely a cavalier!" and drawing his sword as he spoke, ran the Protonotario through the body. The unrighteous Judge was carried away a seeming corse, though whether he were actually killed is another of the points upon which authorities differ.<sup>(220)</sup> The French knights applauded the deed, and Charles was fain to smother his wrath; but he was not frightened into justice. The doom remained unaltered.

Conradin now asked permission to say a few words; and obtaining it, with great self-possession spoke as follows: "As a sinner against God, I deserve death; but here I am unjustly condemned. I ask all those loyal vassals, over whose welfare my ancestors so paternally watched,—I ask all the princes of the earth, whether he who asserts his own and his people's rights, be a criminal? And even were *I* one, upon what plea can the innocent men, who, unpledged to any other king, have faithfully adhered to me, be thus savagely punished?"

Murmurs and tears of sympathy responded to this appeal, but still fear of Charles was the predominant sentiment. Robert de Bethune had apparently expended his indignation, and no one stirred. Conradin then flung his glove amidst the crowd, requesting that it might be conveyed to his kinswoman, Constance, Crown-Princess of Aragon, and her husband Don Pedro, in token of his bequeathing his rights to her. It was picked up by Heinrich, Truchsess von Waldburg, brother or nephew of Conradin's active as zealous episcopal guardian in Swabia, who, like a good knight and true, punctually fulfilled the Prince's last wishes.<sup>(221)</sup> Conradin seems to have thus far cherished a hope of exciting the people to rise in rescue of himself and his friends; but if he had, he now saw that their very souls were too thoroughly enslaved. He abandoned the struggle, and prepared for death. He embraced all his fellow-sufferers, Frederic repeatedly; divested himself of his upper garment, and, raising his hands and eyes towards Heaven, cried: "Jesus Christ, Lord of all creatures, King of honour! if this cup may not pass from me, into thy hands I commit

my spirit." Then he knelt down, but immediately started up, with the exclamation: "Oh, mother mine! What grief must I cause thee!" This explosion of filial tenderness, for the only parent he had ever known, over, Conradin again knelt down, and calmly received the death-stroke.

When Frederic beheld the beloved head fall, he uttered a shriek so piteous, revealing anguish so intense, that the whole mass of spectators burst into tears. His own head was the next struck off, followed by Conte Donoratico's; and here it must be observed, that, if any shadow of a plea could be alleged for sentencing Conradin, as a claimant of the crown, none could possibly apply to Frederic and Donoratico, both foreigners in the Sicilies, the one a German prince, the other a nobleman, the citizen of a free state, which, if not absolutely independent, owed homage solely to the Empire. The Lancias, whose Apulian and Sicilian estates might give them, though Lombards, the character of rebels against the *de facto* king, were the next executed. Galvano had proffered 100,000 ounces of gold as ransom for his son and himself; but Charles, preferring the confiscation of his Apulian and Sicilian property, rejected the money; and, apparently through a mere desire to gloat on human suffering, ordered the son to be first slain. The fatal stroke is said to have been dealt the youth whilst actually clasped in his father's arms. After the Lancias, one Swabian (again a foreigner,) and several Calabrian noblemen and knights were beheaded.<sup>(222)</sup>

It is said that when this wholesale execution was over, the executioner's own head was suddenly struck off, by a colleague provided for the express purpose; thus escaping the indecorum of a low-born man's being enabled to boast of having shed such princely blood. The number of victims sacrificed upon this day is not accurately known; neither is that of the persons who suffered upon the several subsequent days of execution, nor yet the precise date of those subsequent sanguinary days. But, first and last, 1000 human lives are computed to have been left upon the scaffold. None, because excommunicated, being allowed to repose in consecrated ground, the sea shore was their common grave.

With regard to Conradin at least, and those of his friends laid nearest him, this indignity was not permanent. According to the most general opinion, his mother Elizabeth, who had been gathering together a large sum of money, with which, as she trusted, to ransom him, arriving too late to make the hopeless attempt, purchased with the gold, now otherwise valueless, permission to build a church or chapel, and in it a tomb, over his remains.<sup>(221)</sup> The church was afterwards burnt down and rebuilt; the second church or chapel was in existence at the opening of the current century; in the early part of which, all respect for religion, as for the past, being extinct, it was destroyed to make room for the before-mentioned coffee house. But the monks of the Carmelite monastery show, behind the high altar of their own church, a tablet, attesting that Conradin and Frederic are there interred; though whether their undistinguishable remains were removed thither from the demolished church, or only the tomb with the medallion effigy of Conradin, may be doubted.

This mockery of law and justice—as, however repugnant to each other the ideas of mockery and murder, this atrocious butchery under colour of a legal execution must be termed—with all its attendant circumstances, including the extinction, in the direct male line, of a dynasty as exalted in natural gifts as in station,<sup>(224)</sup> commoting the Neapolitan heart and imagination, tradition has deepened and adorned the catastrophe by a touch of the marvellous. An eagle is reported to have shot down from the clouds at the very moment when Conradin's head was severed from his body, dipped a wing in the gushing blood, and soared again skyward, out of human sight. The spot where the execution took place was averred to remain thenceforward wet, as a perpetual mourning over the flagitious deed.

These are mere legendary traditions; but one superstitious observance traditionally connected with Conradin's fate is sanctioned by the authority of Dante, and also of Boccaccio, a courtier of the royal executioner's grandson, and more than a courtier of his great-grand-daughter. The Sicilies cherished a popular belief, supposed to have been imported into Magna Grecia from the mother country, but said by these mighty Florentines to have equally reigned in

Tuscany,<sup>(225)</sup> that, by eating a soup, concocted for the nonce of certain specified ingredients, over or upon the body of a murdered person, the murderer, if not quite cleansed of guilt, was, as by a charm, protected from the vengeance of the slain man's friends and kindred. A rumour makes Charles eat such a soup, over the mangled bodies of Conradin and his fellow sufferers. That Charles should be superstitious is not strange; but much so, that he should thus betray his own consciousness that his pretended judicial proceedings were a sanguinary farce. Conscious guilt must have stimulated the fear of vengeance, compelling this tacit confession.

Charles having by these executions nearly satisfied his appetite for blood, and, by the accompanying confiscations, temporarily at least, his rapacity, deemed it meet next to evince his gratitude where due. To Heaven, he offered the foundation and endowment of an abbey, which he erected upon the field of battle near Scurcola, dedicated to Our Lady of Victory, for the occupation of French monks. This abbey he appears to have likewise intended for a monument of his emulous patronage of the Arts, having employed Frederic II's architect, Nicolo Pisano,—more likely Nicolo's son, Giovanni, or one of his scholars,—to design and build it. The attempt to commemorate either his artistic taste or his devout thankfulness, was unsuccessful; and to the excited imaginations of his subjects and contemporaries, the earthquake, which ere long overthrew the Abbey, leaving scarcely a fragment of the wall standing, appeared a special interposition of Providence, in rejection of a blood-stained offering.

Man certainly rejected his endeavours to repay the obligations he owned. He offered St. Valery a grant of two cities, Amalfi and Sorrento, in fief; when the Crusader coldly replied: "I want none of your fiefs. What I did was done for love of my own King, the pious Lewis IX, and for the honour of France;" and, quitting Naples, he went home. Charles next proposed to conciliate both Sicilies by an amnesty; but a real amnesty was alien to his nature, and this might better be denominated a Proscription. The victorious monarch, in professed clemency, promised future safety to the repentant partisans of Con-

radin ; but excepting all Germans, Spaniards, and Pisans ; that is to say, persons over whom he had no right of jurisdiction whatever, and whom he leniently contented himself with banishing from his dominions for ever ; whilst assuring Sicilians, who, though not active rebels, had absented themselves through fear, that, unless they returned by a certain day, they likewise would be excepted from the amnesty. Within the week this amnesty was followed by another Rubric, as they are termed, which said : " Those who have borne arms against the King, or fled, or been already sentenced, or lived in rebellious towns, or concealed themselves, shall forthwith be seized by the officers of justice, their property confiscated, and themselves hanged. Whoever shall have harboured, concealed, conveyed away, or counselled any such person, is subjected to the same punishment." But not even so was Charles's thirst for vengeance satiated. Three years later, another Rubric declared, that, " The sons and daughters of outlawed persons shall not marry without the King's permission, which will be granted only if the parents present themselves before the tribunals." <sup>(226)</sup> And this condition, non-compliance with which was to doom the race to extinction, is unaccompanied by any intimation of mercy to such persons as should so present themselves !

A proof, stronger even than his massacres, of the utter heartlessness of Charles, is, perhaps, the deliberate publication of this sanguinary amnesty as an act of grace and clemency, in honour of his second nuptials. For not long had the vain, rather than ambitious, Beatrice, rejoiced in her title and dignity of Queen. She died in July of the preceding year, 1267 ; and her widower had lost no time, beyond what the barest decency required, in negotiating another marriage. One, if not two, matrimonial overtures had, after much consultation with the Pope, been made and failed, before he selected and obtained the hand of Marguerite, daughter of Eudes, Comte de Nevers.

This treaty was concluded, and the lady on her way to join him, during the process of extermination just related ; and, in this sanguinary month of October, she was entertained at Milan with the honours due to the Sovereign's consort. Milan was all anxiety to atone for not having stopped

Conradin on his passage through Lombardy ; being now as meanly subservient to the usurping King of the Sicilies, to whose crown she owed no allegiance, as she had been refractory, first to the rigorous, and latterly to the very moderate, demands of Emperors whom she acknowledged her Sovereigns. Milan, as if renouncing her republican aspiration, proclaimed Charles, Lord of Lombardy; and Clement, forgetting alike his disapprobation of savage cruelty, and all apprehension of a Sicilian monarch's power, extended his Imperial Vicariate over the whole of Italy.

Frederic II's only surviving legitimate child was a daughter of his third marriage, Margaret, Margravine of Misnia, whose lot was, after a different fashion, as sad as that of any of her race. The reader might expect to see her husband, Margrave Albert, upon the death of Conradin, assert her right, viz., his own, in default of male heirs, to inherit all her father's dominions; or at least appeal to King Richard, against her murdered nephew's bequest, alienating the German patrimony of the House of Hohenstaufen from the Hohenstaufen blood. But either the Margrave was brutalized by sensual indulgence into indifference to his own aggrandizement, and his children's birthright; or he hated his ill-used, as well as neglected, imperial consort, and—because her's—their sons, with an inveteracy, that rendered acquisitions valueless if due to her, and to be enjoyed by her offspring. When Margaret's last hope of powerful protection expired upon a Neapolitan scaffold, her husband, instead of claiming her heritage, bribed a menial<sup>(227)</sup> to steal at night, disguised as a demon, into her chamber and there strangle her. The man accepted, and promised to earn, the bribe; but, his heart failing him, he procrastinated. When at length, vehemently urged, and threatened by the impatient Margrave, he made his way to the couch where, calmly sleeping, lay the daughter of emperors and kings, the consort of his actual, and mother of his future, Sovereign, he was overwhelmed with horror at the crime he had engaged to commit, and, falling upon his knees, revealed to the death-doomed wife, the commands of her husband. This frightful discovery overpowering even her reluctance to forsake her children, Margaret resolved to fly.

She easily persuaded her appointed murderer to facilitate and share her escape; and whilst, with Rudolph von Varila<sup>(228)</sup>—a son, probably of St. Elizabeth's champion—he arranged and prepared it, sought the beds of her little sons, to bless, and, for the last time, kiss them. In her convulsive agony, she so marked the cheek of the eldest with her teeth, that he is known in history as Frederic of the bitten cheek. Margaret was lowered by ropes from the castle wall, with her converted assassin and two female attendants. But no longer had she mighty kinsmen at hand to receive "one so great and so forlorn;" and she wandered in helpless destitution, until the Abbot of Fulda offered her a conveyance to Frankfort-on-the-Maine. There, the citizens, in loyal affection to her father's memory,<sup>(229)</sup> received and entertained her honourably. The wronged wife and broken-hearted mother did not long enjoy the filial solace of this tribute to the merits of her excommunicated father; the month of August, 1270, laying her in her grave. Her worthless widower immediately married his mistress, and spent the remainder of his life in striving to disinherit his legitimate, in favour of an illegitimate son. In this he failed; but the constant civil wars produced by his endeavours, superseded in the minds of Margaret's children all idea of laying claim to the heritage of her family, or accepting invitations from Italian Ghibelines.

Of the other female descendants of Frederic Barbarossa, Beatrice, Duchess of Meran, left an only son, the last duke of that name. The extinction of the race of Andechs by his dying childless—as did, seemingly, the Margrave of Istria—appeared to their contemporaries the natural consequence of the blood-stained nuptials of Beatrice of Hohenstaufen with the Duke, his father, and strong proof of the complicity in guilt of her brother-in-law. A sister of the childless Duke, marrying a Comte de Chalons, carried some Meran and some Burgundian domains, to the French peer. The posterity of Philip's eldest daughter, Cunegunda, Queen of Bohemia, vanished in the next century: that of her sisters, the Queen of Castile and the Duchess of Brabant, through females, still exist.

Manfred's sons languished out their whole existence in prison; during most of the time, in irons, denied the aid of



medicine, the consolations of religion, and, according to some accounts, deprived of sight. This last calamity is, however, uncertain, except in regard to one of the brothers; as is the cause of that prince's blindness, whether disease or crime; as, indeed, must be all details relative to persons whose intercourse was solely with their jailors. Even the dates, at which death set two of these luckless princes free, are so. But, in 1294, Charles of Anjou's son, Charles II, being King, ordered their chains to be taken off, and a priest and a physician admitted to visit them. Nay, they appear, under him, to have once had a chance of liberty; Amari having discovered amongst old documents, an order, dated 1299, for their liberation, equipment, and despatch to Sicily, where Charles II must have thought of opposing them as rivals to their sister Constance, Queen of Aragon. In prison, nevertheless, they remained; and in prison the following year, thirty-four years after the fatal battle of Benevento, the blind prince died; probably the first of the three, as the eldest could not, in 1300, be more than forty years old.

Ten years prior to the family's relief from its supererogatory evils, in 1284, Manfred's youngest daughter, Beatrice, through her more fortunate sister, Constance, recovered her liberty. Charles II, during his father's life, being taken prisoner in a sea fight by the Messinese, they were about to execute him in retaliation for Conradin, when Constance prevailed upon them to place him in her hands, and obtained the release of her sister in return for saving his life. Beatrice soon afterwards married the Marquess of Saluzzo.<sup>(230)</sup> Manfred's sister, the widowed Empress of Nicæa, was released with her niece, perhaps as not worth detaining.

A few words touching the conduct of the new King of the Sicilies towards his allies—that by which he taught his new subjects to regret their desertion of Manfred—has been shown, and the very imperfect retributive justice, with which Charles's conduct was visited, will suitably close this history.

Charles, now uncontested King of the Sicilies, virtually sovereign of Tuscany and Lombardy, and having secured the fidelity of the House of Este by the grant of Ferrara and Reggio, showed himself indifferent to the general reprobation he had incurred. To papal censure he was then

especially so, because, in addition to his confident trust that no Pope would destroy a former Pope's work, Clement IV had, in one little month, followed Conradin to the tomb, and the Roman See was kept vacant three years, whilst the Cardinals were contending for it. Charles, therefore, fearlessly imitating the conduct for which Frederic II and Manfred had been so inexorably excommunicated and persecuted, sought commercial advantages in the friendship of Moslem states, and entered into alliance even with the Mameluke Sultan, Bibars Bondocdar. He had early called upon the King of Tunis to pay him the same tribute he had paid Manfred: but the African monarch, declaring himself tributary only to the heirs of King Roger, who had vanquished his ancestor, had both refused to pay the money, and permitted Don Fadrique to quit his service for Conradin's. When, in 1269, Lewis IX applied to Charles for assistance in the new Crusade he was then projecting, the crafty politician saw, in his brother's unsuspecting piety, the means of wringing the withheld tribute from the refractory Mohammedan. By representing the King of Tunis, as at heart a Christian, prevented by fear of his subjects from owning his conversion, who, could he, by the support of Crusaders, be induced to avow his faith, would be an invaluable ally against Egypt, Charles actually prevailed upon his brother to begin the recovery of Jerusalem by besieging Tunis.

The King of France accordingly sailed for Tunis, and, upon the 18th of July, 1270, effected a landing. But, whilst awaiting the King of Sicily, with his quota of warrior-pilgrims, and before any real advantage had been gained, the reiterated fate of mediæval northern hosts in southern climates, befel the Crusaders. The King and his army, sickening, became incapable of exertion; numbers died, and, upon the 24th of August, in his camp before Tunis, the sainted King himself expired. That very day, Charles landed with reinforcements, and assumed the command. He gave battle, won the victory, and opened a negotiation with his perverse tributary. He extorted from him, as the price of evacuating the Tunisian territory, large sums of money, under the name of arrears of tribute, together with a promise of future punctual payment.

This treaty was signed upon the 30th of October; and no sooner known, than the Crusaders, including the English Prince Edward, who had arrived pending the negotiation, quitting a spot to them so fatal, sailed for Sicily, there to discuss their next move. Upon the passage, the fleet suffered from a storm, in which the King of the Sicilies lost the vessel freighted with his booty. He sought compensation in reviving the odious feudal right of plundering wrecks, which he moreover put in force against the Genoese, whom he himself had, by a special compact, exempted from the brutal custom, against his own subjects, and even against Crusaders, whose ships and property had always, even when wrecking was most prevalent, been respected and spared. Such conduct was not likely to foster the brotherly harmony, the pleasure in anticipated mutual co-operation in the field, that might have counterbalanced the gloomy disposition, which, arising upon the loss of an honoured leader, inclined all to break up the expedition he had organized, and disperse each to his own business. The Crusade was postponed for three years, and the Crusaders disbanded; Lewis IX's son, Philip III, hurrying home to take possession of his kingdom. Only Prince Edward, adhering, with his English company, to his original design, made straight for Palestine.

When, after three years' vacancy, Gregory X was, A.D. 1271, seated in St. Peter's chair, he sternly admonished his royal vassal to bridle both his savage cruelty and his rapacity, bidding him not degrade the kingly dignity by unkingly acts. But the only symptom of sensibility to papal rebuke discoverable in Charles, was a renewed endeavour to conceal the conduct, thus censured, from his censor. With this object he is said to have had poison administered to the most celebrated of scholastic philosophers, the Angelic Doctor, Thomas Aquinas,<sup>(231)</sup> when journeying to the general Council held by Gregory X at Lyons, A.D. 1274, where, he feared, the Dominican would expose his tyranny. The murder, if really perpetrated, was unavailing; for Gregory learned enough to send his royal vassal a solemn warning, that the day would come when such tyranny would be visited by the judgment of God; to which Charles is reported to have answered: "What tyranny is, I know not;

but this I know, that God, who has hitherto guided my steps, will still protect me."

For eight years more, notwithstanding the rebukes and admonitions of Gregory and his successors, Adrian V and Nicholas III, Charles cherished this confidence; but the Easter of 1282, forcibly taught him a different lesson. A tyranny that was hardly endurable under the monarch's own eye, in Apulia, when exercised by deputy, as in Sicily, became actually intolerable; and individual resentment prepared, with deliberate policy, to turn the accumulated and accumulating wrath to account. Giovanni di Procida was a nobleman of highly cultivated mind, who, having enjoyed the especial favour of Frederic II and Manfred, had supported Conradin. He had since seen his property therefore confiscated, whilst wife and daughter, either by violence or seduction, became the prey of French licentiousness. He thereupon quitted his native land, betaking himself to Aragon, where he soon gained the full confidence of his lamented liege Lord's daughter Constance, and her husband. When Don Pedro, in 1276, succeeded to the crown, Procida easily persuaded him to prepare for claiming his Queen's heritage, whenever opportunity should favour,—when, in Napoleon's phrase, the pear should be ripe; and the ripening process the King committed wholly to the zealous exile. Procida, thus authorized, set actively to work. Visiting Sicily in disguise, he conspired with Sicilian Barons against the tyrant they all abhorred. Visiting Constantinople, he obtained pecuniary assistance from the Greek Emperor, who was glad so to occupy Charles at home, as to obstruct his supporting the pretensions of his son-in-law—Philip, Baldwin's heir—to the Eastern Empire. Visiting Rome, he obtained the full sanction of the Pope, Nicholas III, indignant at a vassal of the Roman See, who presumed to neglect the remonstrances of his suzerain, the Pope. Thus successful, Procida returned to Aragon. With the Greek subsidy Pedro equipped an armament, and, as a cover to his ulterior design, sailing for Africa, threatened a Mohammedan state of the Barbary coast, whence he could at any instant repair to Sicily, when summoned by Procida.

But French outrage outran the conspirator's cautious movements, exhausting the patience of the Sicilians before

the final arrangements were completed. A gross public insult, offered by a French officer to a Palermitan bride, amidst the festivities of Easter Monday, provoked not alone her family and friends, but every Sicilian present, beyond all prudential considerations. The offender was cut down; the cry of "Death to the French!" resounded on all sides, and the massacre, known as the Sicilian Vespers, ensued.<sup>(232)</sup> Every French man, woman, and child, even to the unborn mongrel offspring of French fathers were put to death, not sparing the Sicilian mothers. The numbers thus sacrificed to Sicilian vengeance are estimated at 8000;<sup>(233)</sup> the fate of unknown individuals being decided by their pronunciation of the word *cicerà*, a feat which Gallic organs were deemed incapable of correctly achieving.

But those who had, by this terrific massacre, avenged the wrongs of many years, thought not of calling their lost King's daughter to the throne. In fact, having risen without plan or premeditation, upon sudden provocation, they knew not well what use to make of their liberty. They first thought of a federal republic, under the suzerainty of the Roman See. But Nicholas was dead, and Martin IV, a Frenchman, raised by Charles's intrigues to the papacy, refused thus to sanction rebellion against his vassal. All was disorder, till Procida, who, upon the first news of the explosion, had hastened to his intended scene of action, concerting his measures with his friends, gradually obtained the guidance of the prevalent anarchy. Don Pedro was then invited to take possession of his Queen's patrimony, and secure it to her children; an invitation which he hastened to accept. Charles's passionate efforts to recover the island were fruitless. Sicily remained to Constance and her posterity. Even the hereditary claim of the Bourbons, now upon the Sicilian throne, rests upon their descent from her, through Lewis XIV's Queen, Maria Theresa of Spain.

## CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

### *Political, Intellectual, and Social Condition of Europe in the second half of the Thirteenth Century.*

WITH the splendid Swabian dynasty, that irradiated this century and a half, or rather, perhaps, with its greatest man, Frederic II, expired, in fact, if not in name, the Holy Roman Empire. The struggles of the Popes for supremacy, of the great vassals, Italian and German, for actual sovereignty, and of the thriving Italian cities, for republican independence, all co-operating, had been successful; breaking the one Empire, in Germany, into an agglomeration of states, professing allegiance to an impotent Head; in Italy, into a mass of rivalry and contention, without even that slight bond of union. The Emperors, indeed, still claimed the rights and prerogatives of their great predecessors; but seldom as they could even dream of attempting to enforce the claim, yet seldomer had the attempt any success; whilst Dante censures their neglect of the imperial duty.<sup>(224)</sup> And in this debilitated condition, with occasional fits of power and energy, the Holy Roman Empire lingered till Napoleon I tore it piecemeal, extinguishing the old, respected title, transferring nominal empire, without its rights—appropriate solely to the Holy Roman Empire—to Austria.

The power of the greatest among the all but independent German princes, was variously kept in check. The practice, becoming more and more prevalent, of dividing a principality amongst all the deceased prince's sons, generally prevented the growth of states to formidable dimensions. Moreover, the great vassals of the Princes were not more disposed to submit to their authority, than they to acknowledge the Emperor's, whilst the lesser princes and nobles

usually supported the Emperor, as a protector against mesne lords, and mighty neighbours; and the robber-knights, multiplying in the absence of controlling authority, harassed and plundered all who had not strength to master them.

The cities alone, whether Free Imperial or subject to mesne lords, thrived amidst the anarchy, which failed to stop, however it might retard, the progress of trade and manufacture. But of the rights and privileges, subsequently the pride of the Free Imperial cities, they as yet possessed few; and most of these recently acquired.<sup>(335)</sup> When acquired, they were enjoyed by the city patricians, upon whose monopoly of municipal authority few encroachments were as yet attempted. In some towns, indeed, chiefly in Lower Lorraine, the heads of the Zünfte (Guilds) had extorted a share; and in some others were endeavouring to do so. They were respectable antagonists; each Head (*Altermeister* or Alderman), as the impersonation of the strength and ambition of his Guild, being supported by its Masters; who again were an intelligent, energetic body, no journeyman being admitted into it until he had produced an allowed masterpiece in his own craft, be it the blacksmith's or the jeweller's. Yet so different was the Teutonic from the Italian temper, that Bruges, about the year 1240, excluded, by a law from the Great Council, whoever had not abstained for a year from manual labour. The feudal lords of towns were commonly disposed to assist the lower orders against the city patricians, whom they regarded as rebellious vassals. But the prince-bishops, residing in their urban, episcopal palaces, and frequently embroiled with all classes of their townsmen, were more obstinately opposed to all city emancipation, than lay superiors, in their country castles, exercising their authority by deputy, over rarely seen city vassals.<sup>(336)</sup> One instance will sufficiently show the relative position of prelates and their city flock.

Cologne appears to have, in all ways, taken the lead amongst German cities, and was esteemed, although the Emperor had a Burgrave there, and the Archbishop appointed the Schöffen, a pattern of self-government. Other towns copied her envied institutions; which the Archbishops considered as so decidedly over-liberal, that they had almost

uninterruptedly endeavoured, by overthrowing the city's chartered rights, to monopolize the authority; and in the second half of the thirteenth century, the broils between the patrician and plebeian citizens, appeared to offer an especial opportunity. Archbishop Conrad von Hochstaden, founder of the Cologne Cathedral, and seller of the German Crown, by supporting either patricians or citizens, as seemed best for keeping the quarrel alive, possessed himself of despotic power. His nephew, Engelbert von Falkenstein, who, in 1261, succeeded to the see, used this despotic power so tyrannically, that the city, revolting in his absence, expelled his officers. He negotiated with the rebels, concluded a reasonably fair treaty with them, solemnly swore to observe it faithfully, and, in return, was paid the contribution due for the expenses of his pall. For investiture therewith, he went to Rome, where he solicited and received a dispensation from his oath. Again he tyrannized, and again Cologne revolted. In concert with the most potent of his neighbours, the Archbishop of Mainz and the Earls of Berg, Cleves, and Guelders, Engelbert now besieged his rebellious capital. But his lay allies beheld, in a vision,<sup>(237)</sup> the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs personally blessing Cologne, and they at once withdrew from the siege of a town so favoured. Meanwhile, the citizens also had sought efficient allies; and the Earl of Juliers, being satisfied with their proposals, appeared at the head of his forces, at the very moment when the two Prelates were weakened by the desertion of the three Earls; he defeated them, taking Engelbert prisoner. The ransom demanded by the Earl, and the concessions required by Cologne, the captive rejected, as exorbitant. And in this rejection he persevered, although his captor, angry at being disappointed of the large sum he had expected, strove to make his situation unendurable. He confined and exhibited him in an iron cage, and persisted in this coercive system, in defiance of the Pope's admonitions, followed by a sentence of excommunication. Neither party gave way, until, in 1270, the celebrated Albertus Magnus, otherwise Graf von Bollstadt, Provincial of the Dominicans and Bishop of Ratisbon, visiting the captive prelate, convinced him, by his eloquently Christian remonstrances, of the duty of pur-



chasing, at any price, the power of discharging the important sacred functions to which he had been consecrated, and of resting content, when free, with the measure of authority lawfully his. The obstinacy of the Prince-Archbishop was overpowered; he paid his ransom, assented to the concessions demanded, and swore to respect the rights and liberties of Cologne. Thenceforward keeping his word, he proved an excellent prelate and ruler.<sup>(238)</sup> His successor renewed the struggle, and, being completely beaten, quitted the mutinous city to fix his residence at Bonn.

The number of Free Imperial cities (the municipality of each of which was held a concrete corporate person, the immediate vassal)<sup>(239)</sup> had greatly increased, and they were now reckoned amongst the estates of the Empire, their deputies forming part of the Diet, though whether already having votes—like the *Reichsgrafen* (immediate Earls) not individually, but collectively—or only obtained this privilege conjointly with the *Reichsritterschaft* (immediate chivalry), in the fifteenth century, is another moot point. The towns subject to princes in like manner sent deputies to the provincial Diet. The rapid increase of the Town Leagues, guarding town prosperity, has been seen; but by this time, all others sink into insignificance in presence of the Hansa or Hanse. Of this extraordinary League, twenty-three cities were members before the end of the century, whilst princes, even bishops, joined it, for protection. Lubeck was the Hanse metropolis, although the factory at Novogorod was so considerable, as to be called the Mother Factory.<sup>(240)</sup> The Hanse was a regularly organized association, with republican forms; and so completely an *imperium in imperio*, that, upon Brunswick's resisting an order of the Hanse Council, all members of the League were forbidden to trade with Brunswickers in Brabant, Flanders, or Holland.<sup>(241)</sup>

Those, with whom the Hanse might have come into collision in the north-east, the Marian Knights, heeded not the commercial association. They were extending the Empire, through their own domination, along the shores of the Baltic; where, before the end of the century, they had converted and subjected most of the Slavonian tribes; Lithuania, alone, remaining an independent Heathen prin-

ciality. The dominions of the Order at one time comprised Pomerelia, Prussia, Livonia, Esthonia, Courland, Samogitia, Semigallia, and some islands of the Baltic.

Of non-noble freemen, or more properly freeholders, few now remained; the higher class being absorbed into the chivalry and baronage of the Empire, the lower pressed down into the upper class of the unfree, *i. e.*, the rent-paying peasantry. Townsmen were rather free citizens than freemen, according to the original definition of the title. Only in some districts of Saxony and Westphalia, extending into Lower Lorrain, as Friezeland, and Ditmarsen, amidst lowlands, protected by human labour from the sea, or amidst the Alps in Switzerland and the Tyrol, were still to be found peasant landholders, entitled to bear arms, and owing the Emperor military service. So sadly had the relative proportions changed, if rather in name than reality, that the unfree—including in this class the rent-paying peasantry, who were really free though without freemen's privileges—now constituted the bulk of the nation. But the emancipation of villeins, either out of individual kindness, or as a work of mercy and piety, was gaining ground. Countess Margaret emancipated her villeins, merely subjecting them to a small annual poll-tax, and some nobles of the Liege bishopric made theirs rent-paying peasants.

This had for years been the state of the country, save as the want of a powerful controlling head left every freeman's conduct to his own discretion—rarely an efficient curb. Accordingly, when the death of Richard, A.D. 1271, removed the small restraint that his talents and resolution, unsupported by territorial sovereignty, could place upon his vassals, the anarchy became such, that, the princes themselves growing weary of it, an Electoral Diet was convened in 1273. The cities had long been urging the election of an Emperor, fitted by energy, intellect, integrity, and power, for bridling the wild passions distracting Germany. The princes so far complied with the prayer, that they subtracted only one of the qualifications, required by the cities, in their Emperor—to wit, power. Their choice fell upon the nobleman then most distinguished for high character, piety, talents, and prowess, Rudolph von Habsburg. But, if not one of the greatest princes, Rudolph was yet further

from being the nearly landless knight, that some modern historians depict him. The head of one of the first families in Switzerland, and connected with the most exalted in Germany, he enjoyed a fair patrimony, besides inheriting largely, through his mother, of the Kyburg and Züringen property, and had married a great Swiss heiress. The three cantons, Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, had chosen him their Warden; he was Landgrave of Upper Alsace and Burgrave of Rheinfelde: altogether in a position to wage war upon the Prince-bishop of Basle and the Prince-abbot of St. Gall. Rudolph accomplished most of what the cities desired, and more than the princes had intended. Amongst these he married a large family of daughters, thus conciliating, as well as controlling, even the greatest; he nearly put down the robber-knights—destroying most of their castles—and re-established the authority of the law. Moreover, he compelled the Comte de Chalons to do homage for the county of Burgundy, which he had seized in right of his Andechs wife. But he achieved all this only by devoting his energies exclusively to Germany, suffering the Imperial rights over Italy to sleep—greatly, as before said, to Dante's indignation—and suffering the Arelat to transfer its allegiance from the Empire to the French crown. In Germany, indeed, the Imperial authority was generally acknowledged, and, under Rudolph, tolerably well obeyed:—amongst other wrongs redressed, he obliged Ottocar of Bohemia to resign Austria; which, as a lapsed fief, bestowed upon Rudolph's eldest son, Albert, became the patrimony of the House of Habsburg.

The contest between the Papacy and the Empire had ended in favour of the former; the Emperors appeared to be finally driven beyond the Alps, the Pope's supremacy was universally acknowledged, and he was established as an Italian temporal prince. Yet was the triumph less satisfactory than it seemed. By expelling the Emperors from Italy, the Popes lost their hold both upon them and upon the Italian Guelphs, who, no longer dreading Imperial sovereignty, were no longer subservient to pontifical ambition. And the very king, placed by two Popes upon the throne of the Sicilies, when he ceased to need support, proved quite as refractory a vassal as any of his prede-

cessors; only less to be feared, when his tyranny lost him half the kingdom they had given him. Before the end of the century, St. Lewis's grandson, Philip the Fair, by the insults with which he loaded Boniface VIII, avenged the Swabian Emperors at least upon the papacy.

Over the Church, the Popes had, in the course of the century, assumed absolute despotism, monopolizing, in addition to their own pristine rights and prerogatives, not only the rights and prerogatives, but also the abuses, of which they had despoiled temporal sovereigns, to render them far more annoying. Their heavy pecuniary demands—for personal interests—upon the pockets of the clergy, and the offence of all kinds, habitually given by the legates—their usual conduct, even earlier, may be judged, by the amazement which Innocent III's offer to discharge any debts that a legate a latere of his might have incurred, excited in Germany—were alienating men's minds, and paving the way for the Reformation. Church discipline seemed annihilated. The clerical celibacy, that Gregory VII had, two centuries before, so laboured to enforce, still very imperfectly observed even in England, France, and Germany, seems, in the Scandinavian and Slavonian states, scarcely thought of till towards the end of the century. The sale of indulgences, forbidden by Innocent III's Lateran Council, became more and more common. The frequency of appeals to Rome had now virtually destroyed episcopal jurisdiction, since a sentence, followed by such an appeal, involved the judge in a tedious and expensive lawsuit, not to be willingly incurred. The efforts of the Popes for the education of the clergy at large, had, judging from circumstances incidentally mentioned, been yet less successful, than those relative to their celibacy. St. Gall, centuries back the *Alma Mater* of extraordinary scholars, as witness Hermannus Contractus, had so strangely degenerated, that, in 1291, neither the Abbot nor any one of the monks, we are told, could read. Gregory IX rejected a newly-appointed Bishop of Sta. Agatha, for ignorance beyond a child's,<sup>(242)</sup> suspending the Archbishop of Benevento for having sanctioned the election. In 1240, an English Synod decided that a priest ought to know the ten Commandments, the seven Sacraments, with their simple meaning, and

the seven deadly sins ; to which requisites, Nicholas III, in 1280, added Latin enough to read mass, understanding what he read. And this ignorance is found in the clergy, whilst so many Popes were distinguished for extensive learning, and all anxiously enforced the maintenance of Cathedral schools, regulating the discipline of all schools with minute care, ordering, *e.g.*, that a boy dismissed from one school for a fault, should not be received into any other ; but, that if a schoolmaster broke a boy's arm in flogging him, the injured boy should be allowed to change his school.

These, and other similar causes, had, even whilst Popes were triumphing over Emperors and Kings, produced a re-action throughout the century, in the various forms of heresy, and of resistance to Church authority and discipline. As early as under the pontificate of Honorius III, the Podestà of Milan took upon himself to dissolve that Roman Catholic sacrament, marriage ; and, at Parma, the Council of Three Hundred, with analogous presumption, gave their Podestà a dispensation from the oath he had taken to protect churches, the bishop, and the clergy : that they simultaneously forbade all shopkeepers to sell to the bishop, was simply a piece of democratic tyranny ; as was the murder of the Bishop of Mantua, with twenty distinct wounds, of democratic violence. Venice forbade appeals to Rome, whilst the Doge conferred ecclesiastical dignities, (of the right to do which the Emperors were despoiled,) and, in 1243, the Podestà of Piacenza hanged a papal messenger, who brought him disagreeable commands. Heresy, it has been seen, first, in this century, assumed an aspect threatening to the Established Church ; and, despite crusades and persecutions, was never effectively crushed.

In this earliest serious alarm of heresy appears to have originated the withholding of the Bible from the laity by the Roman Catholic Church ; the prohibition to read the Holy Scriptures, issued by the Synod or Council of Toulouse, A.D. 1229, being evidently a novelty, far from generally enforced. Innocent III's view of the subject was seen, relatively to the Scripture readers at Metz ; later in the century, monks are found translating the sacred volume, thus to assist the diffusion of Christianity amongst

the Heathen; and Conrad IV's having, during his government of Germany, ordered new German versions of some parts to be made, is not named amongst the crimes by which he had incurred excommunication. Nay, a century later, at the close of the fourteenth, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his funeral sermon upon Richard II's Good Queen Ann, praised her for her assiduous study of the Gospel in the vulgar tongue.<sup>(243)</sup>

With respect to the Sicilies, there is little to add to what has been said. The island, after the Sicilian Vespers, became the separate kingdom of a younger son of Constance, and Don Pedro of Aragon; and remained in her posterity. The House of Anjou retained the continental portion, as the kingdom of Naples. But the species of imperial authority that Charles had attempted to exercise over Italy, was irrecoverably lost with Sicily, and the illusion as to the absolute invincibility of the French chivalry.

Northern and central Italy were at this time divided into about forty independent states, of various kinds and sizes. Of the former princely nobles, only the Earl of Savoy, and Marquesses of Montferrat, Malaspina—ere long to be absorbed by Savoy—and of Este, remained: the others had become citizens of the towns. Of the towns, whose struggles for republican liberty have occupied so many of these pages, few indeed enjoyed the liberty for which they had striven; the immense majority having fallen under the yoke, either of a stronger town, or of one of their own urban nobles, bearing the modest title of Signore, or Signore Perpetuo. This species of subjection usually began by the election of a native noble to the office of Podestà for ten years; a period long enough to enable him to secure its further continuance. And one advantage the cities appear to have enjoyed under these small despots; namely, internal tranquillity. The city fortresses, from which the city nobles had threatened the people and warred on each other, had almost ceased to exist; being either demolished—Brancaleone destroyed 140 within the walls of Rome,—or so lowered as to be innoxious. At Lucca, almost alone, a few survived the century. Of the Signori, the first formidably great were

the Scaligeri at Verona, who had succeeded to much of the dominions and power of the Romano brothers; whilst at Milan, the delle Torri and the Visconti were tearing the perpetual lordship from each other, till the violent and rapacious tyranny of Napoleone della Torre finally transferred the authority to the Visconti.

The republicanism of Bologna ended more romantically. The city was distracted by the broils, not of factions, but, as at Florence, of families. The Geremei and Lambertazzi were the Montagues and Capulets of Bologna, and could have supplied Shakespeare with another ROMEO and JULIET; for a Geremeo loved a Lambertazza, and, his passion being returned, was surprised by the lady's brothers in her room. They there stabbed him with poisoned daggers; and she, sucking the poison from his wounds, died clasping the corse to her heart. This catastrophe so embittered the enmity of the two families, that republican Bologna, unable to endure their incessant fighting in the streets, in 1276, voluntarily bowed her stiff neck to the yoke of King Charles.

Pisa, no longer supported by Imperial favour, and a prey to a succession of Signori;—of whom Dante's Conte Ugolino was one—her fleet defeated by the Genoese, in 1284, off Meloria, where, forty-two years before, she had triumphed; her port obstructed and destroyed by the victors, and her commerce stolen by Florence, was, ere long, enthralled by her former rival.

Wherever republicanism was preserved, there, with one exception, democracy prevailed. This has been seen at Florence, where almost every grown man had his turn as a member of government; and where, before long, the nobles were by name excluded from getting their turn: to enoble a man was a punishment, a sort of ostracism. Florence was mistress of great part of Tuscany, and, with Bologna, was distinguished for a humanity and liberality towards the very lowest classes, combined with a respect for private property unusual in democracies. In the second half of the century, they emancipated all villeins belonging to the two corporations, not interfering with those of individuals. In Genoa, a less extreme democracy prevailed; but Genoa, mistress of most of the Riviera, engrossed with her

commerce, her rivalry with Venice, and her immense advantages upon the Euxine, cared little for Italian politics.

The republican exception from increasing democracy was Venice: and her extraordinary constitution, securing despotic authority over Doge, nobility, and people, to an oligarchy, having now acquired the completeness, that remained nearly unaltered, until Venice fell before the French Revolution, a few words concerning some of the peculiarities of that constitution, especially the favourite complicated form of election, in its fulness of involution, will here find their proper place. The Grand Council of 480 members, which had long superseded all popular assemblies, was now self-elected, naming both the Councillors who, in a sort of rotation, were to go out, and their successors. None were eligible, whose ancestors had not been Grand-Councillors, (an exclusion of *new* families, called the closing of the Libro d'Oro,) the especial request of the Doge, alone rendering the election of such a member possible. The right, to make this effective request, appears to have been the sole power left to the once absolute Doge; all those originally exercised by him, having been transferred to the different Councils—as the Council of the Ten, of the Inquisition, &c., &c.,—that really conducted the administration; whilst spies watched every movement of this phantom of sovereignty, as also those of every individual, in or out of the Councils, worth watching. Yet was the election of a Doge as carefully guarded against cabal or corruption, as if the office could still be an object of ambition; this election being the very ideal of the complication, at which Italian republics aimed. In the first place, thirty members of the great Council, each thirty years old at least, were chosen by lot, and by lot reduced to nine, who elected forty, each man naming a fixed proportion of the number—five, four each, and four, five—who were to be of forty different families. These forty reduced themselves by lot to twelve, who selected twenty-five, as before, and so every time; the twenty-five, reduced by lot to nine, elected forty-five, to be again reduced by lot to eleven, who elected the ultimate forty-one electors. These forty-one men threw each a name



into a box, from which the names were promiscuously drawn, and the votes taken ; when the bearer of the first obtaining twenty-five affirmative votes, was proclaimed Doge. The only subsequent change in this whimsical blending of chance and choice, was taking the final votes by ballot. In 1288, the people attempted to regain some degree of power, and make their champion, a Tiepolo, Doge. But the nobles, instantly electing the most energetic man of their order, Petro Gradenigo, Doge, permanently established the supremacy of the aristocratic oligarchy,<sup>(244)</sup> the strength of which, as a government, was demonstrated by the extensive dominions, of which, abroad and at home, Venice gradually possessed herself.

For the rest of Europe and the adjacent countries, a few words will suffice. In the Western Peninsula the kingdom of Granada alone remained to the Moors, but, within its narrow limits, displayed the science, literature, prosperity, and refinement of the Caliphate of Cordova. The other provinces had all been recovered by, and were divided between, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal. England wanted only a better monarch than Henry III, to be a free, powerful, and formidable insular kingdom, although John had suffered her to be robbed of full two thirds of her French provinces by Philip Augustus. By this robbery, the skilfully negotiated marriage of two of Lewis IX's brothers with the heiresses of Toulouse and Provence, and then taking advantage of, first, the virtual, and then the real, interregnum in the Empire, to steal the allegiance of these principalities, France had acquired dimensions that quite altered her position in Europe. Denmark was torn, as usual, with civil war, growing out of contests for the crown, but had shaken off all vassalage to the Empire ; whilst Scandinavia was slowly advancing, amidst internal broils, towards civilization. Russia, under pressure of the Mongols, was amalgamating into one large and united empire. Poland, freed like Denmark, from any claim of vassalage, was, before the end of the century, re-united into a kingdom ; Hungary was slowly recovering from devastation ; and the Slavonian States south of the Danube were securing their independence, very much through the excessive weakness, to which conquest by the Crusaders and its

consequences had reduced the Eastern Empire, now again Greek.

The Syro-Frank states, reduced to the mere sea shore, were, as usual, internally distracted. The death of Conradin left the right of the Queen of Cyprus to the throne unquestionable; nevertheless, Maria of Antioch,<sup>(245)</sup> a grandchild of Isabel's by a daughter of her fourth marriage, Melisenda, married to the Prince of Antioch, laid claim to it; Charles of Anjou, whose grasping ambition seemed insatiable, purchased her pretensions of her; and Gregory X, who saw a more usefully efficient King of Jerusalem in the King of the Sicilies, than in his rival of Cyprus, sanctioned the shadowy title. But Charles, though he assumed, and transmitted to his heirs, the title of King of Jerusalem, was as inefficient as Alicia, or her son Hugh. Palestine was deserted by Europe, whence no Crusade set forth after St. Lewis's, though crusading bands occasionally prolonged the struggle. Prince Edward's, designed only as part of a general Crusade, was one of the most considerable—but useless—save to its own and its leader's reputation. Meanwhile, Bibars Bondocdar, with his Mamelukes, pressed steadily forward. He first overthrew and enthralled the Sheik of the Assassins; in 1267, he took Antioch, and in 1291—nineteen years after Prince Edward's return to England—Acre submitted to him; when, or, if Tyre remained Christian a few years longer, which seems very doubtful,<sup>(246)</sup> certainly before the close of the century, every vestige of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem vanished. The Templars removed to Cyprus, as their head quarters, and to their estates in Europe; where, in their Preceptories, they haughtily enjoyed the wealth, with which piety had endowed the Order, when useful; until, early in the next century, this wealth provoking cupidity, Order and Knights were, together, destroyed. The Knights Hospitalers established themselves in the island of Rhodes; where, their offer to hold it in vassalage of Constantinople being rejected by the arrogance of Greek bigotry, they dwelt self-dependent; thence waging incessant war against Moslem states. The Marians were one and all, concentrated in Germany, and on the Baltic. The Mamelukes remained masters of Egypt and Syria, whilst the Ottoman Turks loomed in the Eastern horizon.

In regard to the business of government, a considerable advance towards the modern science of statesmanship has been shewn in the legislation and administration of Frederic II, in the Sicilies. Elsewhere, the chief progress appears in the financial department. From the before-mentioned indifference of old chroniclers to such matters, a distinct history of this progress can hardly be given, even by those who devote their researches exclusively to the subject, though something may be gathered from facts relative thereto, casually noticed. To mention a few of these : the first steps in this direction evidently were the commutation of military service for a money payment, and the purchase, by the republican cities, of the royalties and feudal privileges that galled their pride, for similar annual money payments. Then, these same cities, when no longer dependent upon a feudal superior, had to contrive means of raising funds for their stipulated payments and other public purposes. Venice, long virtually independent, appears to have had a regular income tax. At Milan, a proposal was made, A.D. 1248, to value and register all property, that it might be equitably assessed to the requisite taxation,—probably for League expenses. But the Milanese chose to have their liberty cheaper, and rejected all idea of such a regulation, although seemingly not uncommon in Italian cities. Certainly at Sienna, some twelve years later, all property was thus valued, and assessed accordingly ; and that such was the practice at Ferrara, seems indicated by the complaint of the citizens under Salinguerra's administration, that the lightness of their taxation lowered the dignity of the city. About the middle of the century, Cologne established an excise upon beer, meat, and meal, to raise money with which to discharge a debt. Kings and princes followed the example of the towns ; the reduction of the small public revenue, consequent upon the frequent sale and gift of lands, royalties, and feudal services, having rendered money indispensable to government. Taxes, when imposed, appear to have been often farmed by Jews, whence, in Germany, their title of *Kammerknechte* (Exchequer servants), in Austria of *Kammergrafen* (Exchequer earls). Frederic II's systematic financial arrangement in the Sicilies was completed, when the wars to which he was

driven by the persecution of Gregory IX and Innocent IV, rendered his ordinary revenue insufficient, by another modern resource, a loan; not, indeed, a loan upon the principle of a funded debt, but simply a loan for which he was to pay interest, till he could return the sum borrowed. And the rate of interest, which the absolute prohibition to take any remuneration for the use of money, branding the smallest as usury, compelled him and other borrowers to pay, is startling. The regular rate appears to have been 20 per cent. per annum, and much more was frequently demanded. To some Roman merchants Frederic paid 36 per cent., which, in case of unpunctuality, was to become 48, and this enormous interest he paid, whilst his credit sufficed to pass stamped leather for gold coin! It has been inferred that he had some political object in submitting to such extortion,—if extortion it be, seeing that Philip Augustus fixed upon 48 per cent. per annum as the rate to which, as reasonable, he limited the rate of interest,<sup>(247)</sup> and that Matthew Paris speaks of 60, as having been paid in England, though not the regular rate. This large profit, gained without the fatigues and perils then attending the career of a merchant—high as the rate of mercantile profit must then have been, being computed at Venice two centuries later, at 40 per cent.<sup>(248)</sup>—tempted Christians to risk excommunication by rivalling the Jews. If the Lombards addicted themselves so largely to this business, as to make their name—like that of Jew—synonymous with money lender, they did not monopolize it. The town of Cahors, in France, is called a nest of usurers; and Frederic II, who has been seen borrowing from usurious Roman citizens, got fiefs from the Bishop of Passau in return for assistance to pay ruinously usurious debts to Siennese as well as to Roman money lenders. The Church spared not her thunders against these Christian usurers; and her spiritual chastisements were occasionally enforced by worldly measures. Lewis IX of France, and James of Aragon, banished all Lombard and Italian usurers from their dominions, whilst Innocent IV imprisoned them at Lyons.

In connexion with finance, the condition of the Jews—the chief mediæval financiers—in the last half of the century,

may here be disposed of. In Germany, the Emperor might be expected to protect the servants of his Exchequer; yet Conrad IV imprisoned rich Jews, to extort fines, as ransom, from them; and many of the princes followed his example. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical princes, following the example of the Popes, dealt more fairly, tolerating them, but repressing their extortion; whilst the towns favoured them. At Cologne they had judges of their own, and at Augsburg the full rights of citizenship. The complete toleration they long enjoyed, in the south of France, appears from their holding office under the Earls of Toulouse,<sup>(240)</sup> one condition of the first reconciliation of Raymond VI with the Church, being, that he should never more employ a Jew in his administration. In northern France, Philip Augustus released all debts due by his subjects to Jews, upon paying a fifth of the amount into his own exchequer, banished the defrauded creditors, and then sold them permission to return. Yet, habitually plundered as they were in the whole kingdom, St. Lewis is said to have been reproached by his Mohammedan captors, with tolerating the murderers of the great Prophet, in whom he professed to believe. Touched with this reproach, upon returning from his Crusade, he banished all of the race who were not mechanics—meaning, apparently, the usurers; yet is he, like his predecessors and successors, charged with using these same Jews as a sponge; squeezing them, when they had absorbed the wealth of the country. In England, their treatment varied with the temper of the monarch. Richard I, like the ecclesiastical princes, protected them from ill-usage, and also his subjects from their extortion, declaring no unwritten contract with them binding. But they suffered much from the rapacity of John, as also from the hatred of the nation. In London, A.D. 1256, an accusation of crucifying a child, was brought by twenty-five Knights against seventy-two Jews, who were imprisoned, sentenced to death, and saved by the intervention of the Franciscans; whereupon the Londoners pronounced the Friars bribed, and refused them their usual alms. In 1279, the Jews were charged with a more probable crime, viz., clipping the coin, for which some were executed; and before the end of the century they were banished. Few

thought of acting upon the precept of the Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, who thus, in the very spirit of St. Bernard, describes the law that should regulate Christian treatment of Jews: "Jews are to be taxed, not stripped of the necessities of life; their usurious gains are to be restored to those whom they have plundered, not taken as a tax."

Respecting the military department there is little to say, although the progress towards the national standing army is very observable. The feudal array was beginning to be, if not superseded, yet prodigiously supported and reinforced by hired troops. In Germany—where Schmidt says they were much employed—they usually consisted of the chivalry of the Empire, the landless or nearly landless knights, with such followers as they could collect—all who preferred fighting to work—for privates; and in France, of a similar class, with the addition of foreign mercenaries. In Italy, princely nobles have been seen, already beginning to engage, with their own vassals, or with hireling vagabonds, in the service of greater princes or of cities, as *Condottieri*, though not yet bearing the name; and foreigners began to compete with them. The highest of the class, Don Henrique of Castile, with his band of adventurers, almost assumes the character of an ally. Lesser nobles, upon a humbler scale, followed these examples. If Frederic II raised troops amongst his own subjects, he likewise hired foreign mercenaries,—rather individuals, as they offered, seemingly, than such bands; Conrad and Manfred followed his example.<sup>(250)</sup> Charles of Anjou's army appears to have been gathered more after the manner of William the Conqueror's.<sup>(251)</sup> Florence, where, early in the century, a lighted candle was regularly placed over the gate through which a military expedition was to issue, the organized *Arti*, under their *Gonfalonieri*, being bound to have passed forth ere it burnt out,—that same Florence, in 1282, hired a French company of 500 lances; and, in 1289, the last Italian battle in which the burgher militia bore any proportion to the mercenaries, was fought by Florence against Arezzo.

In the mode of waging war, and in its implements, some improvement is perceptible. More arrangement in the plan and conduct of an enterprise,—something, almost like strategy, appears in the wars of Frederic II, Manfred, and

Ezzelino, and especially at Tagliacozzo. Contemporary chroniclers speak of improvement in the regular battering engines and the operations of a siege, but no actually novel invention is mentioned, with the exception of what seems to have been a sort of portable chevaux-de-frize, or cats, devised by Margrave Berthold,<sup>(232)</sup> to protect the camp occupied by the Pope's army from assault; and, perhaps, of the defensive barbican without, and the portcullis in the gateway, both said to be borrowed from the Saracens. The Greek fire, mentioned in the twelfth century as used in the defence of Acre, appears more formidable in the thirteenth; but, at this distance of time, it were hard to say whether because likewise improved, or only more accurately and more graphically described in aspect and in action, as employed by the Egyptians at Damietta, and the Mongols in Silesia. Joinville says, that the fire, when thrown, flew through the air like a dragon of fire, in form resembling a large tun, with a tail the length of a spear, in sound like thunder, and emitting so much light, that in the French camp they saw at midnight as at noon. Though called Greek fire, Greek writers speak of it as a weapon of Oriental enemies.<sup>(233)</sup> But, if little progress appears, a recent traveller in China and Tartary, the Missionary Huc, conceives that, in this century, the Tartars had learned from the Chinese the use of "*bombardes et pierriers*"; whence, perhaps, the great change in European warfare, even then imminent. The use of gunpowder and artillery by the Spanish Arabs, is named very early in the following century.<sup>(234)</sup>

Similar remarks apply to ships and navigation; both were evidently improving, but too gradually to afford much noticeable matter. It may, however, be observed that the vessels seem larger than, from the numbers comprised in fleets, would be inferred. For conveying the warriors of the Fourth Crusade to their destination, or rather, to that substituted by Dandolo, Venice equipped 480 ships, of which 240, allotted to the Crusaders themselves, are described as impelled solely by sails, without oars.<sup>(235)</sup> Later in the century, the wars between Venice and Genoa bring forth fleets of 155 galleys, manned with crews of from 200 to 300 men. The ship of Frederick II's Sicilian Grand-

Admiral carried 1000 men ; his ordinary vessels, destined to transport soldiers, had crews of 150 or 200 men. Norway is spoken of as possessing 292, and even 410, ships of war, rowed or manned by 12,700 sailors.<sup>(256)</sup> Frederick II built lighthouses for the guidance of mariners.

In civil engineering little progress is apparent. Bridges, canals, and mills continued to be constructed as before, and that the Capuan bridge was designed by Frederic II has been said. Either Bene de' Gozzadini, as Podestà of Milan, or Napoleone della Torre, as Signor Perpetuo,<sup>(257)</sup> began the *Naviglio*, or navigable canal, which, besides irrigating the southern plain of the Milanese, connects the Lombard capital with the Po, the obstacle from difference of levels being mastered by locks,<sup>(258)</sup> seemingly a new invention, if great, the only one in this department. The canal that brings the water of the Ticino to Milan, and irrigates the north-western Milanese territory, had been completed in the twelfth century.<sup>(259)</sup> The windmill is believed to have been introduced into Italy from the East, in the first years of this century.

The impulse given to the study of jurisprudence, by the first Frederic's gratification, at finding his notions of Imperial rights authorized by Justinian, was even quickened by the not more disinterested zeal of the cities, for that science. They were confident, that the laws of republican Rome must prove their municipal privileges to include independent self-government. Honours, exemption from burthens, amongst others, from military service, were showered upon celebrated Doctors of Law and their descendants ; Reggio in 1270 conferred the full rights of citizenship upon the bold opposer of Charles of Anjou's injustice, Guido da Suzara ; and men of noble birth gradually addicted themselves to a study, the importance of which began to be universally appreciated.

Simultaneously with, if not growing out of, this profound respect for legal science, arose the idea, that the laws to be obeyed should be as generally known as might be. Earl Baldwin's Collection of laws in the last century has been named.<sup>(260)</sup> And early in this century, perhaps before 1215, Eike von Repgow, a noble Saxon Knight, by command of his Lord, Hoyer von Falkenstein, as announced



by a prefatory couplet in the oldest copy extant, collected the laws of Saxony, and published his compilation under the title of *SACHSEN-SPIEGEL*, or *Mirror of Saxony*.<sup>(361)</sup> Whether this *Mirror* first appeared in Latin or in German is another of the many unsettled questions: but, if in the former, a German version by the collector speedily afforded more general information. Both original MSS., Latin and German, are lost, the oldest copy extant being a Latin translation from the German. This legal work was followed, in a few years, by a *SCHWABEN-SPIEGEL*, or *Mirror of Swabia*. Both collections, appearing to have been made without even the knowledge of the ruling powers, evidently originated in the spirit of the age. A few years later appeared a similar compilation of Austrian laws; the three constituting what might be termed a code of the common law of Germany, in opposition to the civil and the canon law. To the same spirit of the age may, in part at least, be ascribed the production, in the last quarter of the century, of a book upon English law by Bracton, esteemed the best until Blackstone's *COMMENTARIES* appeared.<sup>(362)</sup>

But the study of jurisprudence had given birth to the spirit of legislation. Frederic II's systematic code for the Sicilies, and his less complete, but still very considerable, legislative labours in Germany, have been described. So has the systematic code of canon law—formed by modelling Penaforte's new methodized compilation of *DECRETALS* somewhat upon Justinian's plan—with which Gregory IX. opposed, what appeared to him, an attempt at escape from the universal sovereignty of the Church. Copies of the improved *DECRETALS* were sent to all universities and schools of law to be there taught. Contemporary princes were either stimulated by these examples or sympathetically actuated. In France, Lewis IX. made various laws regularizing and purifying the administration of justice, which, collected after his death, were dedicated to his son, Philip III., as *LES COUTUMES DE BEAUVOISIS*; and afterwards, methodized and improved into a regular code, apparently by order of Philip IV., were published under the title of *ETABLISSEMENTS DE ST. LOUIS*. Alfonso X., of Leon and Castile, the rival of Richard of Cornwall for the Empire,

did the same in Spain, giving his code, written in Spanish, the title of *LAS SIETE PARTIDAS*. In Denmark, Waldemar II completed the laws published by Waldemar I and Archbishop Absalom, which are still in force. In Norway, King Magnus Lagabåter, who in 1266 sold the Isle of Man and the Hebrides to Alexander, King of Scotland, diligently reformed the legislation of his kingdom; and what English reader need be reminded that this century saw the cornerstone of the English constitution laid in *MAGNA CHARTA*, and entitled Edward I, for his legal reforms, the English Justinian?

That the laws of all these codes were still sanguinary, hardly need be added; even those of the philosopher Frederic being so. The mediæval Draconian period was not yet passed. Against this severity may be placed in the balance that, by the end of the century, so thoroughly odious had the right of wrecking become, that states, in their treaties, stipulated reciprocal aid to their shipwrecked vessels and sailors.<sup>(263)</sup> It may be further worth observing, that large states were now generally provided with executioners, although in the smaller, such functionaries were clearly not yet deemed necessary appendages of Courts of Criminal Law; since, a century later, Florence, by an especial edict, exempted casually passing pilgrims from compulsorily discharging the fearful duty of such officials, thenceforward assigned to criminals under sentence of perpetual or very long imprisonment, or of confiscation.<sup>(264)</sup> A step may be said to have been previously taken towards international law, by Richard Cœur-de-Lion's sea-laws of Oleron,—if his they were, and do not, as some inquirers have thought, rather belong to this thirteenth century; towards the middle of which this maritime code was followed by the *CONSO-LATO DEL MARE*, whether put forth by Barcelona, Venice, or Pisa. The two codes were speedily acknowledged as conjointly supreme in all maritime affairs.<sup>(265)</sup>

Commerce, as has been seen, was increasing, and, where cultivated, flourished; but with little change in its nature or mode of transaction. Great fairs were still its chief scenes; prohibition, privilege, and coercion, still its soul, in all eyes save those of Frederic II. Thus Barcelona, in the genuine monopolizing spirit, obtained from James,

King of Aragon, the restriction of all Aragonese and Catalan exports, to her own port and shipping, with an exclusive right of warehousing foreign goods; and Cremona, from the Emperors, a right to compel all merchants crossing the Tyrolese Alps to house their goods for one night in her warehouses, pay toll upon them, and employ her means of transport for the prosecution of their journey. The commercial treaty betwixt Venice and Sicily, limiting the trade of Sicilian vessels, has been mentioned. An earlier, analogous treaty, betwixt Pisa and Arles, dated 1221, prohibits to Arles ships, the selling of goods upon the coast betwixt Pisa and Genoa, and purchasing, except for home consumption, or sale at Pisa, betwixt this city and Civitá Vecchia; further, so far settling the law as to neutrals, that Arles admits her men and goods, when found in Genoese ships, to be lawful prize for Pisans. Lewis IX's course can hardly be esteemed an exception to this ultra-protective system, of fostering by monopoly, since, if he forbade the imposing of new prohibitions without just cause and due deliberation, he likewise forbade the revocation of any already existing.

The Popes would fain have prevented all commercial intercourse with Mohammedan states; but Venice, it may be remembered, upon the plea of depending for her daily bread upon imported corn, obtained the Pope's permission to traffic with the Saracens, carrying them every thing except contraband of war and Christian slaves;—dealing in slaves, not Christian, was still a favourite branch of traffic, deemed perfectly unobjectionable. But, despite papal prohibitions and denunciations, Venice still kidnapped Christians, chiefly Greeks, Walachians, Bulgarians, and Russians, to supply the Moslem markets. The Jews were their rivals in this detestable trade. The commerce of Flanders, always prosperous to a degree surpassed only in the chief Italian mercantile cities, is averred to have received a powerful impetus from the intercourse with Constantinople, consequent upon the Crusaders' conquest of that city, and Earl Baldwin's election as Emperor; although his hereditary counties do not appear to have interfered with the strife of Venice and Genoa for the command of the Euxine, then the regular channel, by which the costly

wares of the far East reached Europe, and whence each of those cities sought to monopolize their conveyance for distribution; building, the former Azof, the latter Caffa, as storehouses rather than marts. The Mongols appear to have favoured the transit of Oriental merchandise; and consequent upon even this degree of connexion with trade, by the end of the century, such was the magnificence of the courts of this, recently savage, wandering Horde, that they attracted Italian merchants, giving rise to some of those journeys, consuming years upon years, described by early Italian novelists. Thus, the father and uncle of Marco Polo, setting out upon their trading expedition prior to his birth, saw him not, till he was almost a man. Marco Polo himself spent twenty-six years, journeying in Asia, and, after his return, being made a prisoner by the Genoese, in a great naval action, in which he commanded a galley, solaced the weary hours of captivity, by writing his travels. Bills of exchange are thought to be an invention of this century.

Manufactures appear to have been steadily progressive, alike in importance and in excellence. The woollen manufacture, the staple of Flanders, was only introduced into Florence, A.D. 1239, and as has been seen, had already become one of the *Arti Maggiori*. Before the close of the century, silk-weaving was, throughout Italy, if not *the* staple national manufacture, yet one of the chiefest; as yet the insect that produces the raw material was reared only further South. The excellence of the Sicilian manufacture is apparent, even at the present day, in the fragments occasionally found in tombs. In Germany, manufacturing was encouraged by the growth of the towns, and wool-weaving flourished upon the banks of the Rhine, although this is the century in which Matthew of Westminster boasted that the whole world was clad in English wool, manufactured in Flanders.<sup>(256)</sup> In answer, perhaps, to this boast, the Parliament held at Oxford, A.D. 1261, prohibited the exportation of wool, and the importation of woollen cloth. The Cisterians, whom their rule bound to occupy themselves with agriculture, or the raising of produce, began to aim at increasing the value of the produce when raised, by a second application of manual labour: in a Prussian

Monastery, they wove cloth from the wool of their sheep, and in another, at Eberbach, they built ships of their own timber, in which the lay brothers navigated the Rhine. In Poland, a convent of nuns taught the art of weaving linen to the Slavonian princesses and noble ladies.

Of agriculture little mention occurs. The interest, taken by Frederic II therein, has been described;<sup>(267)</sup> and the irrigation, above mentioned, must have greatly increased the boasted fertility of Lombardy. Nevertheless, no other improvement appears in the most useful of arts; and, probably, none was conceived possible. Horticulture must, however, be allowed to have made a considerable stride forward, if we may trust the accounts of the hothouse, or conservatory, constructed by Albertus Magnus, in the garden of his Dominican Friery. In this winter garden he entertained the Anti-King William; and to the shrubs and flowers, there green and blossoming, amidst winter's frost and snow, much of the inventor's fame, as a magician controlling the seasons, may be due.

That, in which great progress was really making, was literature and the arts. With respect to the first, the favour, with which learning was regarded, appeared in the great increase of universities. The Emperor Frederic II's foundation of such a school of science at Naples, with the means he took to insure its prosperity, has already been recorded. Two of his most confidential ministers, Taddeo da Suessa and Roffredo da Benevento, he first drew from the schools at which they taught, to his own, then raised them from Professor's Chairs to high place in his councils. The ephemeral duration of prosperity to [this Institution, which seemed permanently established, may be ascribed to the overthrow of his race, and the usurper's anxiety to obliterate the merits, even the memory, of those he had superseded. Frederic's foundation had been preceded, in 1222, by a grand migration of Professors and Students from Bologna, consequent upon dissensions; the seceders founding the University of Padua; a move favoured at the time by the Emperor-King, to whom the University of Bologna shewed habitual hostility. In many Italian towns, Universities of more or less reputation now arose—Frederic II's letter on sending a Law Professor to the Vercelli University<sup>(268)</sup> will

not have been forgotten,—all immeasurably inferior in character to the Bolognese, with which, in civil law, none presumed to compete. In Germany, nothing of the kind was introduced before the next century, and the high schools seem to have lost much of their early fame.<sup>(369)</sup> In France, between the years 1228 and 1233, Raymond VII of Toulouse founded an University in that city, which, it was hoped, might prove a potent auxiliary in converting heretics; and, in 1229, some supposed encroachment by the government or the civic authorities upon the privileges of the University of Paris, produced a migration similar to that from Bologna; but, upon this occasion the separatists, instead of founding a new, joined an existing rival, that of Oxford, which thenceforward ranked second only to Paris in scholasticism, remaining first in canon law. In 1234, another broil with, or in, the Parisian University, gave birth to a new seat of learning at Orleans, which, in deference to its parent, avoided every appearance of rivalry, by forbearing to teach scholastic theology. In 1250, the Sorbonne was founded, for poor students of theology, such as the Church often recommended to the charity of the faithful, for support during their course of study. In England, the University of Cambridge was incorporated in 1231, but hardly seems as yet to have rivalled Oxford, which was daily increasing in prosperity. In Spain, the Universities of Valencia and Salamanca were founded in this century; in Portugal, that of Coimbra; and in Hungary, one at Westprim. Of the regular number of students little seems to be known; but, incidentally, 10,000 are named as at one time, studying at Bologna; upon another occasion, the same number is mentioned as matriculated at Paris; and, in the following century, 30,000 are spoken of at Oxford.

Most of these universities appear in the course of the century, to have become chartered corporations; those originating in the migration of Professors and Students, somewhat strangely, the migratory body being supposed to carry with them their share of the corporate character. But the charters were far from identical. In the University of Paris, copied by the English and Hungarian, the Professors formed the Corporation, to which the Students were subject, even to the degree of school-boy subjection;

the rod having been, we are told, an ordinary implement for the chastisement of youths, preliminarily and judiciously, forbidden to wear arms. At Bologna, on the other hand, and the various Italian, Spanish, and even French universities, modelled upon this first real university, more whimsically, the Students were the Corporate Body, and elected a Head, to whom the Professors, notwithstanding their jurisdiction over the students, seem to have been in some measure subjected. It is to be hoped that, in these last-mentioned universities, the law, which expressly denied to robbers, murderers, and all who did not attend, at least, *two lectures* every week, the privilege of students, would be strictly enforced.

Almost every where, universities appear to have been exempt from the jurisdiction of the municipal or other tribunals of the towns in which they were established. At Bologna, it may be recollected that, before the close of the preceding century, the Professors, for their own relief, resigned the judicial authority given them, to the Bolognese Magistracy; but, by the middle of the thirteenth, their successors, taking a different view of the matter, saw the advantage of a position so commanding as that of the Students' Judges, and resumed their privileges,—the exact extent of their jurisdiction is uncertain.<sup>(70)</sup> The Neapolitan University stands nearly alone, as somewhat less privileged. Frederic II did not make it a self-governing corporation; but, exempting the students from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, he named an especial justiciary to judge in criminal cases, implicating any of them; and he allowed them to submit civil disputes, at their choice, to that Magistrate, to the Archbishop, or to the body of Professors.

Different universities have been seen excelling, in different studies, although, with the exception of the Salernitan, and, perhaps, the Montpelier, which seem to have been solely medical, they did not confine themselves to those several especial departments: at the Neapolitan, all known sciences appear to have been simultaneously taught. But, whatever the system of tuition, the Popes, against whom mighty sovereigns strove in vain, found themselves powerless to change it. The beginning of the century saw the

struggle for and against Aristotle in progress. A Parisian Synod, A.D. 1209, ordered all his works to be burnt, thus to prevent their being studied at the Parisian University. Innocent III limited the prohibition of their use, to his writings upon Physics and Metaphysics. Gregory IX,—Frederic II's patronage rendering the Stagyrte, in his eyes, yet more objectionable,—again included the whole. As the century advanced, the Popes, alarmed by the increase of heresy, repeated more imperatively, and endeavoured to enforce, the interdiction of all Aristotle's works; regarding the prevalence of scholastic subtlety, and a consequent disposition to reason, upon dogmas implicitly received and taught by the Church, as the fruit of their tendency to cultivate over-astuteness of intellect:—the very fruit that St. Bernard had dreaded. Yet, despite papal injunctions and denunciations, so decidedly did Aristotle remain the favourite philosopher, that Urban IV, in actual despair of excluding him from any university, commissioned Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor, by commentaries and explanations, to render this classical Arch-Heresiarch as innocuous as might be, to orthodoxy. Upon another point had papal authority similarly failed. Innocent IV, in the height of his quarrel with Frederic II, forbade all universities to teach the Civil Law, which he held unduly favourable to Imperial authority; and every university disregarded the prohibition.<sup>(271)</sup>

The Universities appear to have given the degree of Doctor, in law, medicine, grammar, and philosophy; but the jurists, jealous of the title, suffered none but themselves to bear it; confining the others to that of *Magister*; and so high did these legal doctors rank, that the opinion of one of them was held equivalent to a judge's verdict.<sup>(272)</sup> Regular salaries to Professors do not appear to have become general till very late in the century, and even then were insufficient to avert dependence upon private agreements with the students for remuneration. At the close of the century, the maximum salary, in Italy, was 200 *lire*, which, according to Savigny's calculation, would be about 43 pounds sterling; whilst, in 1279, a party of students subscribed, to pay Guido da Suzara 300 *lire*, or, at the same rate, 64*l.* 10*s.*, for a course of lectures upon the *DIGESTUM*



NOVUM. Modena, appointing him to the Chair of Civil Law, gave him, once for all, 2250 Modenese lire, or about 480*l*. With such remuneration, it cannot be matter of surprise to find the best professors itinerants, wandering from university to university. Even the Angelic Doctor taught alternately at the Universities of Paris and of Naples.

Few of the then celebrated Doctors of Law have come down to modern times with fame adequate to awakening interest in the nineteenth century. Even the Tuscan Glossarist, Accorso, (Latiné, Accursius,) whom Tiraboschi, writing in the eighteenth, calls *il grande* Accorso, is, perhaps, to the general reader, more interesting as the father of his feminine coadjutor, Accorsa, who is represented as supplying his place in the lecture-room when he was indisposed: so, it is said, did Elisabetta d'Andrea, daughter and wife of the respective Professors Giovanni d'Andrea and Giovanni di San Giorgio, her father's or her husband's, when necessary; whilst Bettisia Gozzadini, more boldly, and assuming, for the nonce, male attire, gave, we are told, a regular course of lectures upon the INSTITUTIONES, and took a Doctor's degree.<sup>(273)</sup>

If jurisprudence were peculiarly the scientific glory of the age, it was not, as has been seen, to the exclusion of Scholasticism, which, in this century, produced some of the children in whom she most glories. At their head stands the Apulian, Thomas Aquinas, who conceived the beautiful idea that the felicity of Heaven consists in fulness of knowledge and of love. Then follow, Albertus Magnus, who, in pure love of science, resigned the bishopric of Ratisbon to devote himself more uninterruptedly to study; Raymond Lulli, another miracle of learning, and the inventor of an arguing machine; the less known Vincent de Beauvais, who, about the middle of the century, wrote eighty-two books, divided into 9905 chapters, upon all extant learning, the matter for which he collected and translated from Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew writings;—all trained in scholastic philosophy; to say nothing of Friar Bacon, the first calendar reformer, who, however depreciated of late, as credulous and fanciful, has by competent judges been held the meet precursor of Lord Bacon,<sup>(274)</sup> both in natural phi-

losophy and in the spirit of philosophizing ; he is said to have first started the idea of relation and reciprocal influence betwixt the language and the character of a nation. Another, of less extensive fame, and who lived earlier in the century, Guillaume d'Auvergne, Bishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249, rivalled the Lombard Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselmo, in furnishing Descartes with arguments, to which he is not a little indebted for his philosophic pre-eminence. In one of this prelate's many metaphysical disquisitions, is found the developed process of reasoning, condensed by Descartes into his celebrated "Cogito, ergo sum."<sup>(375)</sup> These men, besides being original thinkers, had mastered a mass of knowledge, a variety of sciences, such as has since, only by Pico di Mirandola and the Admirable Crichton, been emulated. To these names it might scarcely seem worth adding that of Robert Grossette, Grouthoved, or Copley, Bishop of Lincoln, a low-born Englishman, as not only the first Greek scholar of the age, but also a distinguished poet (his poems are allegorical), historian (he wrote a history from the Creation, in French), mathematician, naturalist, canonist, and theologian, were it not likewise to add, that he was one of the sturdiest opponents of Papal encroachment.

The Spanish Moors, in their now single kingdom of Granada, cultivated literature, science, and the useful arts, as diligently, and, perhaps, as successfully, as ever ; although the more general dissemination of knowledge rendered Arab eminence, whether in Spain or the Levant, less strikingly brilliant than of yore. But, in the second half of the century, the Asiatic Mohammedans no longer aspired to the fame of their forefathers, and of their western brethren. Earlier, a Bagdad library, founded in connexion with a Medrisi, or College, by a Vizier of Saladin's, was dispersed by the easy charity of the Caliph, who, upon occasion of a dearth, permitted the students to sell the books lent them, in order to buy bread with their price.<sup>(376)</sup> Afterwards, the devastating dominion of Mameluke, Mongol, and Turcoman, rapidly extinguished civilization and intellectual culture in the Levant. Frederic II, indeed, found learned Mohammedans, whom he drew to his Court, amongst others, the sons of the famous Averrhoes : and

Abulfeda, the Eyubite Prince of Hamah, at once an historian, botanist, physician, lawyer, and astronomer, belongs to the latter end of this century.

Latin was still the established language of philosophy, history, and even of poetry, at least of the more ambitious kinds. To enumerate the now forgotten, would-be Classical writers of the thirteenth century were tedious; but a few of the more distinguished may be named. Amongst these, rank Gulielmus Brito, or Armoricus, who wrote both a history of Philip II, *DE REBUS GESTIS PHILIPPI AUGUSTI*, and an epopœa upon the same subject, entitled *PHILIPPEIS*, in twelve books; Rigordus, another chronicler of this King's deeds; Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, one of the historians of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of the Crusades; the English historians, Matthew Paris, the monk of St. Albans, who, freely admitted to the table of Henry III, and, apparently, of Lewis IX, often derived the matter of his narrative from the lips of royalty; Matthew of Westminster, with others, some of whom, Henry of Huntingdon being one, like Brito and Rigordus, belong to both twelfth and thirteenth centuries. German historians still, invariably wrote in Latin,—not just now in their happiest vein,—so did the few Poles, whose chronicles serve as authority for the early history of that unhappy country. And, that, in Italy, Latin was still esteemed the proper language of history, Muratori's *SCRIPTORES RERUM ITALICARUM* bear witness. Of these, Jamsilla, who writes with the animation of a man telling what has interested him; Gerardo Maurisio, esteemed the best Latin historian of his day, Ugo Falcando, likewise belonging to both centuries, and a very few more, are, with the French and English named, allowed still to display tolerable Latinity; whilst in others, as, *e.g.*, in Saba Malaspina, the tongue, no longer classic, was growing ruder and ruder. Its utter corruption is, however, imputed to Albertus Magnus, who, engrossed by his matter, held aiming at classicism in contempt. The *TROJAN WAR* of Dares Phrygius is, by some critics, assigned to this century; in which case, Benoit's poem, written in the twelfth, cannot, as has also been supposed, have been taken from his. The Latin writers of

France and Italy belong chiefly to the earlier half and middle of the century.

But the most truly important part of literary progress in the age lay in the cultivation of modern languages. The commencement of this great movement was seen in the preceding century; earliest, perhaps, in the *Langue d'oc* and the *Langue d'oïl*, though with little difference of time in the Spanish and the German, and not much later in the English tongues. In the thirteenth, the change becomes everywhere prominent. The Troubadours of this century are estimated at two hundred, of whom six were enthroned votaries of the Muse: Elinor, Duchess of Aquitaine and Queen of England, already named as a dabbler in the *Gai Saber*,<sup>(277)</sup> was still alive; and Elinor of Provence is said to have been indebted for her share of Henry III's throne, solely to her poetic fame. Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, is the third royal Troubadour; Pedro II of Aragon, the victor of Navas de Tolosa, and victim at Muret, the fourth; and his grandson, Pedro III, the fifth.<sup>(278)</sup> The sixth, and most celebrated, is King Thibault of Navarre, who sighed in verse for Queen Blanche, the widow of Lewis VIII, and mother of Lewis IX, of France. The remaining 194 were of all ranks, and of these, Elias Cairol may be worth naming, as an artist in gold and silver, jongleur, and troubadour; whose vituperation of Frederic II<sup>(279)</sup> may indicate, that the Imperial and poetic Mæcenæ had not duly appreciated his genius. The metrical history of the Crusade against the Albigenses, already quoted, is evidently the work of a contemporary troubadour,—another of the non-lyric class. The author begins as a zealous Crusader, changing sides as he proceeds; perhaps as he saw fanatic persecution unfold itself into a pretext for robbery and usurpation. But the really distinguished troubadour of this century, called the last of Troubadours, and almost so literally, was Sordello. He wrote in Italian as well as in Provençal, and which was his mother tongue is uncertain, as is much of his history. Dante, in his *VOLGARE ELOQUIO*,<sup>(280)</sup> praises him for improving the Mantuan dialect; and no reader of the *DIVINA COMMEDIA* need be told how highly the mighty Florentine

esteemed his poetic powers. Sordello was much favoured and trusted by Ezzelino di Romano, who made him Governor of Mantua. He died A.D. 1280.

But numerous and distinguished as were the troubadours of this century, the best antiquarian critics hold their strains very inferior to those of their predecessors in the twelfth; as less natural in sentiment—the “high-fantastical passion” becoming even more fantastical and unreal—and less poetic in expression; quaint conceits being substituted for flights of fancy, and artificial difficulties for mellifluous versification. Whether this gradual deterioration would have proved fatal to the Joyous Science, may be questionable; but two mortal wounds precipitated the slow decline. The first was dealt by the Crusade against the Albigenses, which seems to have changed the temper of southern France. The second was the annihilation of the brilliant, luxurious, and literary courts of the Earls of Toulouse and Provence, jointly its Parnassus, by the absorption of the first county into the French monarchy, and the annexation of the other to the Neapolitan; thus degrading the *Langue d’oc*, from a courtly language to a provincial dialect. So rapidly sank, in public estimation, the art, erst cultivated and half worshipped as well as patronized by the highest, that Giorgi, a troubadour, in a *Sirvente* published about 1270, execrates him from whom he learnt to rhyme.<sup>(381)</sup> But, how generally soever favoured was the *Gai Saber* in northern Italy, its death might be accelerated by the extinction of the House of Romano, the most constant, as the most splendid, of its Italian patrons.

If the *Langue d’oc* were decaying, the *Langue d’oil*, the language of the Courts of France and England, was more than proportionately flourishing. It was assuming the fixity and dignity of one of the chief European languages, as it grew into French, and was producing works “in prose and rhyme,” which still survive, and—if, from obsolete words and antiquated forms, no longer adapted to the general reader—still delight the student. The *Trouveurs* continued to pour forth romances in verse; one of the most popular of which entitled itself an epic poem upon the Life of Alexander the Great. In this *ALEXANDREIDE*—if *LI ROUMANS D’ALEXANDRE* be not the original title

—the classic conqueror is, even more completely than in its Latin predecessor, the ALEXANDREIS of the last century, transformed into a knight-errant, upon whose head all the marvellous adventures ever achieved by an Amadis or a Palmerin, are accumulated. The most admired *trouveurs* of the day,—the now forgotten Lambert le Cors, (the short,) Alexandre de Bernay, Thomas de Kent, &c.,—nine in number, combined to produce the poem, which is written in lines of twelve syllables, thence still named Alexandrines. Doubts are, however, entertained, whether the *Alexandreide* be an original work, or a translation, with improvements, of the earlier Latin poem.<sup>(282)</sup> The romances relative to Arthur, and “his table round, Begirt with many a knight,” arose in this century; which also gave birth to the first attempt at prolonged and sustained allegory, (the Thier-Epos, simply bestowing human articulation upon animals, acting according to their respective natures, can hardly be so called,) in the ROMAN DE LA ROSE of Guillaume de Lorris. The end of this same century beheld a versified French History of France, extending from the abduction of Helen down to the moment at which the author, a Fleming, Philippes de Mouskes, Bishop of Tournay, lived and rhymed; and, naturally, including the Flenish Emperors of Constantinople. The long romances were rivalled by shorter tales; the most pleasing of which are, perhaps, the LAIS of Marie de France, written for the amusement of the English Court: but, whether she borrowed her stories from Wales or from Britany, whether she found them as ballads, or as traditions which she versified and wrought into form, are questions that divide antiquaries. Her LAIS, as might be augured from her sex, are almost free from the licentiousness in tone, incident, and language, of her male rivals; though, at times, even she somewhat plainly tells, what at the present day could be but delicately insinuated.

The powers of the rhymsters were inadequate to satisfying the thirst for fiction: and prose romances, taking their heroes from both cycles, viz., those of Charlemagne and his Paladins, and of Arthur and his Round Table, vied with the metrical. But the writers of short prose *Fabliaux* and *Nouvelletes*, the very storehouses of immoral, and anti-

monacal, rather than anti-religious, anecdotes; whence Boccaccio and Co. drew the more objectionable portion of their tales, were more numerous, and, painful it is to add, the most popular.<sup>(283)</sup> In France and England the number of Langue d'oïl poets—whether including prose novelists seems uncertain—in the thirteenth century, is again estimated at two hundred.

The idea of extending the knowledge of history, by writing it in the mother-tongue, had, as has been seen, before the close of the preceding century, been conceived by Baldwin, Earl of Flanders and Walloon-speaking Hainault.<sup>(284)</sup> He did not live to see the Crusade, that gave him a crown, produce the full embodying of his idea, in the first regular history in a modern living language. This was the work of his gallant comrade, Geoffroi de Ville-hardouin, Maréchal de Champagne, who, as the narrator of feats in which he bore part, claims the title of the earliest modern vernacular historian. In the second half of the century, his example was followed by another Marshal of Champagne, Jean de Joinville, who wrote in French the history of the Crusade to which he belonged, having accompanied Lewis IX. Between the two noble Marshals may be placed a continuator of the Archbishop of Tyre's history, Bernardus Thesaurarius. Whoever or whatever he may have been, Syro-Frank or Frenchman—uncertain points—his work, though extant only in Latin, is believed to have been written in French—partly because Joinville makes extracts from it as *en langue vulgaire*, and Ducange quotes it as such—and translated into Latin by an Italian.<sup>(285)</sup> Whether the HISTOIRES DE BAUDOUIN preceded, or closely followed, the prose fiction, is still a question; but one remarkable circumstance connected with this subject is, that the European prevalence of the French language had already begun. The Florentine, Brunetto Latini, best known as Dante's instructor, wrote his philosophic TESORO in French that it might be more extensively read—the first exaltation of a vulgar tongue to the service of philosophy, if not preceded in the Spanish. Yet, like the Treasurer's History, the oldest copy known is a translation into its author's native language.

In England, if French were still the poetic, as well as

the social language of the higher classes, Anglo-Saxon was in course of rapid transformation into English. The difference between the language into which Layamon translated Wace's *BRUT* at the close of the twelfth, or the very opening of the thirteenth century, and that of the latter half of this same thirteenth, is striking. The middle of this century is the epoch fixed upon by some critics as that of English undefiled;<sup>(286)</sup> and a song of triumph upon the Barons' victory over Henry III, A.D. 1264, evidently written in the very flush of present exultation, clearly before Prince Edward's counter victory at Evesham in 1265, is really old English. Still more may this be asserted of other writers of this period, first among whom stands Robert of Gloucester, with his rhymed translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance-history. In this century Scotland boasted of Thomas the Rhymer, who died towards its close.

Italian, if the youngest child of the Latin, was born, Minerva-like, full grown; being little different in the thirteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The existence of Italian, or rather Sicilian, verse, before the death of Saladin in 1193, has been seen;<sup>(287)</sup> but those rude lines of Ciullo d'Alcamo are all that can be quoted prior to the thirteenth century; which teems with his successors. That Frederic II, his sons, and his ministers, were all more or less poets, hardly need be repeated; or that his Court, which, at Palermo and Naples set the fashion of vernacular, in preference to Provençal, poetry—whence Italian poetry was long called Sicilian<sup>(288)</sup>—became a centre of attraction to all votaries of the Muse, throughout Italy. Pietro delle Vigne enjoys the fame of having invented the sonnet; but, ere he had left his father's cottage, to study, as a pauper, at Bologna, his future master was writing Sicilian verses. Some of the earliest of these have been preserved; to which Bettinelli vaguely assigns the date of 1200, when this lisper in numbers had scarcely completed his fifth year, but clearly written prior to the adventurous expedition, in which he recovered his patrimonial crown.<sup>(289)</sup> Sicilian poetry was amatory; and a poetess of the island is reported to have become so spiritually enamoured of a Florentine poet,—a predecessor and namesake of Dante's,—that she addressed love lays to him, designating herself, Nina di Dante. These



intellectual lovers are believed never to have met. Up to the middle of the century, the character of all Italian poetry was of this character, with the exception of Hymns,—first written in Italian by St. Francis—if they, equally speaking the language of passion, although addressed to Divinity, can rightly be termed an exception. But, about the time mentioned, Satire began to vary the sameness of amorous ditties; and Guido Guinocelli, a Bolognese, introducing aphoristic, or didactic poetry, versified ethics rose into public favour. In the Sicilies, the spirit of poesy seems to have expired with the posterity of Frederic, whilst reigning supreme beyond the Neapolitan frontiers. Whether the *DIVINA COMMEDIA* had begun to exist in the mind that brought it forth, may be doubted; not so that Dante ranks amongst the glories of this century, which ripened him to the age required for participation in government; which saw him officiate, as not only one of the Priors of the Republic, but as ambassador at Naples, where he formed with Charles Martel, Charles of Anjou's grandson, a friendship, explanatory of his poetical forbearance towards the usurping grandfather.

The fiction of the peninsula was, during this century, limited to short prose tales, too similar, in the worst feature, to the French. Of these, the *CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE*, in which Frederic II's Court is depicted as the resort of Artists of all descriptions, are perhaps, the oldest.

But, in the second half of the century, Italian prose was more worthily employed by the Florentines, Ricordano Malespini, and Giovanni Villani, the first writers of history in *Lingua Toscana*; Matteo Spinelli, who preceded them, having recorded the events, in which, from 1247 to 1268, he appears to have been an actor, in the Neapolitan dialect. Villani's style is easy, flowing, and much admired by compatriot critics. He carried on the narrative nearly to his own death, but is really authority only for what occurred within his personal knowledge, strangely blundering as to facts, either geographically, or chronologically, distant, even within the peninsula.<sup>(390)</sup> His history was continued by members of his family.

In Germany, the literary use of the living language, although introduced by Frederic II into legislation, appears

long confined to poetry, in all branches of which the thirteenth century was rich. The highest place is of course taken by the cultivators of the before-mentioned *Kunst-Poesie* (Artistic poetry); who, after a long interval of contemptuous neglect, appear, at the present day, again to command nearly as much admiration amongst their erudite compatriot posterity, as they could amongst their contemporaries. The narrative, in artistic poetry, was distinguished by the chivalrous character of the story, its skilful construction and conduct, a carefully polished style and epic dimensions, from the ruder ballads, belonging to the humbler *Volks-Poesie* or popular poetry. All the romances were long supposed to be translations from those of the *trouveurs*; though generally so Germanized, with so much chastening of the immorality, as to give them an air of Teutonic originality. Modern German critics think some of them original, and others taken, like the *LAIS* of Marie de France, directly from Welsh and Breton tales. As to the comparative merit of the Artistic poets, these critics agree only as to two persons of the triad, that they place at the head of the class,—Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Strasburg. As the third, some name Heinrich von Veldeke,<sup>(291)</sup> others, Hartmann von der Aue.<sup>(292)</sup> The undisputed two are esteemed masters of their art as romance writers, of which Wolfram von Eschenbach's *PARZIVAL* is held a first-rate specimen. This poem is the development and Germanization of a French "*Rouman*," written at the close of the preceding century, and is peculiar enough to deserve a few words:—Parzival, the son of a slain warrior, reared by his mother in strict seclusion to guard him from his father's fate, casually meeting with some knights, is awakened to chivalrous yearnings, goes forth in blundering ignorance, fights knight-like, commits serious offences against morality as well as good manners, misses offered glory and happiness, is converted by a hermit, and, passing through numerous trials, proves the only one of Arthur's knights, whose purity and valiancy are equal to achieving the high and holy adventure of the *San Graal*.

In contrast to such chivalry, Hartmann von der Aue produced a romance, *DER ARME HEINRICH* (Poor Henry), of which the vital spirit is that enthusiastic piety, to which

this world is nothing, save as the road to heaven. Poor Henry is a great noble, but a leper, curable only by virgin blood; and the daughter of one of his vassals gives hers, out of neither woman's love nor vassal's loyalty, but simply as a means of getting speedily to heaven. The peculiar tenderness and delicacy of the poet strikingly distinguish Poor Henry from the numberless legends of warlike saints, whose horrific martyrdoms are relieved by the wildest marvels of Arabian fiction.

But the grand, the sterling production of the mediæval German Muse—an earlier birth, almost opening the century—was the *NIEBELUNGEN LIED*, (*Lay of the Niebelungs*), epic in tone and spirit. The most esteemed German critics, as Goethe, the Grimms, and Gervinus, consider this poem as the Christianized, and, according to the ideas of the day, modernized, contexture of old Heathen lays resembling, though differing in tone of feeling, as in important incidents, those of the *EDDA*. They conceive that each successive generation of ballad singers or reciters, either unconsciously or purposely, adapted the strain to the feelings and habit of their audience; whose sympathy they sought to quicken by interweaving portions of recent history. Thus the introduction of Attila and the Huns is ascribed to the ravages of the Magyars in the ninth and tenth centuries. Three questions relative to the *NIEBELUNGEN LIED* are still undecided. One, its nationality, whether Scandinavian or Low German: Gervinus infers, from so much of the scene lying upon the lower Rhine, that the story originated in the Netherlands; but that, the uncongenial commercial spirit smothering the poetic, it was there forgotten, and appropriated by Southern Germany. Another, whether the poem be allegorical or historical; and, if the latter, whether the idealized history be that of the Burgundian settlement upon the Rhine; of the Franks establishing themselves in Gaul; or of the Barbarian Emperors of the West-Roman Empire.<sup>(293)</sup> The third is, whether the author of the poem, in its present form, were Heinrich von Ofterdingen, the imaginative son of a sober citizen of Erfurth, or Klingsohr, otherwise Klinsor, a physician, geometrician, astrologer, privy councillor, and reputed wizard, as well as a poet. The *HELDENBUCH* (*Book of Heroes*), which ranks next in estimation,

Gudrun, and the Rosen-Garten, in a manner belong to—might be said to form a sort of cycle with—the NIEBELUNGEN LIED. Late in the century a Brabanter, Jan van Heeln, strove to redeem the poetic reputation of Lower Lorrain, by celebrating, in a Low German epic, the war-like feats of a Duke of Brabant.

The Lyrics of Artistic poetry, were—need it be repeated?—those of the Minnesingers, amongst whom, as amongst the troubadours, were still to be found princes; as Otho IV, Margrave of Brandenburg, Henry the Magnificent, the tournament-giving Margrave of Misnia, and a Henry, Duke of Lower Silesia. That Princes of the Empire should likewise prove Princes of Parnassus, was hardly to be expected; and, in fact, the latter title can be claimed by only one amongst the Minnesingers swarming throughout the century. This one is Walter von der Vogelweide, in whose case Minnesinger might seem a misnomer, so few of his lays are devoted to love. He sang every species of sentiment, every occurrence, natural, social, or political; and his strains exhibit the fancy of the troubadour<sup>(294)</sup> blended with German feeling. Whereupon it must be observed, that Alexander Humboldt holds love of nature to be a characteristic of all the Kunst-poesie of this century. It is mortifying to add, that many of these admired compositions, many even of Walter von der Vogelweide's, are dedicated to the panegyric or satire of prince or noble, according as their gratuities had satisfied or disappointed the author's expectations. It must not be omitted, that these German Lyrists, mindful that "Love framed with Mirth a gay fantastic round," composed dancing songs, or songs that ruled the dance, in lieu, it is supposed, of instrumental music.

In the first quarter of this century, the Thuringian Court of Landgrave Hermann (St. Elizabeth's father-in-law) was the haunt of German poets, who found in him an efficient patron. His assistance enabled Heinrich von Veldeke to complete his long-interrupted version of the Eneid; he persuaded Albert von Halberstadt to translate Ovid's METAMORPHOSES, and Wolfram von Eschenbach to remodel one of his less important romances, WILHELM VON ORENSE. His Court was the scene of the extraordinary poetic tournament,

known as the *Wartburg-Krieg*; Anglicé, the Wartburg War, in which, we are assured, that the beaten candidate was to lose his head,—a condition of such a contest, the harder to believe, because, the combatants being six, it would seem as though there could be but one victor, over five vanquished, and, therefore, death-doomed rivals: happily, though puzzlingly, no such execution took place. But this improbability must not place the story amongst mediæval fictions: for that this war of song was fought upon the Wartburg, A.D. 1207, under the patronage of Landgrave Hermann and Landgravine Sophia, is unquestionable; though the accuracy of its poetic history, attributed to either Ofterdingen or Eschenbach, or to both conjointly, may be mistrusted. The six champions were, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Heinrich von Rispach, Walter von der Vogelweide, and Reiner von Zweter or Zwetzen, nobles, Heinrich von Ofterdingen and Bieterolf aus Eisenach, plebeians. The poets were divided into two parties, by Eschenbach's declared preference of Breton and French subjects, for his lays, and his admiration of Philip Augustus as the modern Mæcenas, in opposition to Ofterdingen, the partisan, as might be expected, of national subjects and patrons; amongst whom he extolled, not, as might also be expected, his princely host the Landgrave, but Leopold the Glorious, of Austria. Ofterdingen's head,—whether, as is asserted, he was struck dumb at the point of triumph by the sudden appearance of the Landgravine,<sup>(295)</sup> or was overpowered by a sense of his own audacity in thus standing single against five,<sup>(296)</sup> the other four having joined Eschenbach—was, we are told, forfeited; when, as the only chance of saving it, he, or the merciful Sophia, proposed summoning the wizard Klingsohr from Hungary, to decide who was the victor in this intellectual MELEE. He came, seemingly, in the double capacity of Tilter and Judge of the lists; for he first broke a theological lance with Eschenbach, and then pronounced Ofterdingen the victor, who thereupon received the prize from the hand of the Landgravine. Of decapitating the vanquished, nothing more is heard.

Later in the century, Italy robbing Germany of the habitual presence of the Imperial Court, the patronage of

literature devolved upon the successors of Leopold the Glorious. This was a heavy blow to the spirit of German poetry; the good-natured sensuality of the Austrians, combining with the licentiousness of Frederic the Combative, to degrade its tone to that of mere social amusement. In strains adapted solely to such a purpose, neither depth of passion, nor wild flights of vigorous imagination, could counteract the growing influence of cities; which, after the extinction of the Babenbergs and the Hohenstaufen, appears, for a while at least, to have dethroned Apollo for Momus, or rather for "Gentle Dulness" and the jokes she loves. At burgher festivals, the myths of heathen Frank or Burgundian forefathers awoke as little interest as the adventures of an errant knight, deemed the prototype of the dreaded and abhorred marauding noble. Jocular utility was now required of the Muse; and didactic poetry, if the name may be given to mere versified rules of commonplace morality, or proverbs, arose, in somewhat incongruous companionship with Bacchanalian songs, and the coarsest, grossest buffoonery. Of the earlier strain nothing remained but the mystical religious effusions, in which pious minds sought relief. Singing schools were now established, which may be presumed to have led the way to the complete triumph, exhibited a century later, of the municipal over the poetic temperament, in a Guild of Poets, admittance into which was earned, not by flowers of fancy, but by strict observance of certain capricious rules! Under the Swabian dynasty, Germany is said to have produced two hundred poets; a favourite figure, seemingly, in the statistics of Parnassus.

The Drama did not in this century fulfil the promise of the last. Works of this description are scarcely mentioned, save a *COMMEDIA SPIRITUALE*, said to have been performed at Padua, in 1243, and a piece ascribed to Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the Mystery and the Morality are blended, his allegorical personages discussing the lot of Adam after his fall, and appealing to the Redeemer in person to judge between them.<sup>(297)</sup> The representation of MYSTERIES so generally appears in the light, almost, of an act of devotion, that it is matter of some surprise to find Innocent III treat them as desecrating the churches in

which they took place;—desecrating churches in which the Fête de l'Âne was allowed to be celebrated; in which at festivals the people danced; not to speak of their frequent use as town halls, or of the regular Parisian Easter custom of blessing hams at Nôtre Dame, and selling them almost in the portico of the Cathedral! Kings and great princes appear now to have entertained companies of actors—the Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Brabant, when sent to England to escort the future Empress to Germany, are said to have been accompanied by theirs, upon whom Henry III lavished gifts. If these were of the *Jongleur* class, as is likely, that may explain the degradation of the histrionic art.

With respect to the rest of Europe. In Spain, James I, of Aragon, who has recorded his own feats in Spanish prose, claims rank, chronologically, as the third historian in a modern language, Bernardus Thesaurarius—either a Frenchman or a Syro-Frank—being the second, and the Neapolitan Spinelli the fourth; whilst, as the century rolled on, the next royal Spanish historian and poet, as also a legislator, geometrician, astronomer, and astrologer, Alfonso X of Castile, the two Florentines and Joinville, shew the increasing general taste for information intelligibly imparted. James likewise wrote also a philosophical treatise, entitled *LIBRO DE LA SABIEZA*. Some religious Spanish poetry is mentioned, as is a poem upon Alexander the Great, of the same character as the older Latin and the contemporary French rivals.<sup>(298)</sup> In Denmark no notice of new authors occurs in this century; during which Snorre Sturleson, Governor of Iceland for Hako, King of Norway, was still busy with the compilation of the *YOUNGER EDDA* and his History, the only monuments of Scandinavian literature bearing this date. The Slavonian countries were a little less sterile. In Russia a sort of vernacular epopœa, upon a warlike expedition of the Russian Prince Ivor, was produced, evidently in the very beginning of the century, inasmuch as the bard personally addresses the Grand Duke Wsewolod III, who died in 1213; and somewhat later a Chronicle of Volhynia appeared.<sup>(299)</sup> Poland's Latin chroniclers have already been named, and other Slavonian poetry must, in this century, be sought where, perhaps, few would look for it, viz., in Bohe-

mia and Servia. In the former kingdom, Hanka found in an old church tower, A.D. 1817, some very antiquated poetry in the Czech form of Slavonian. One of the pieces, celebrating the successful resistance opposed by the Heathen Czechs to their Christian invaders, critics conversant with the language have pronounced to be spiritedly dramatic, rivalling if not surpassing all mediæval poetry.<sup>(300)</sup> The supposed date of this poem is 1290. Servian chronicles and poetry of this century are reported to have been yet more recently discovered. In the East-Roman empire, Greek literature never recovered from the wound inflicted by Latin conquest; and a proof of its imminent if not actual extinction is said to exist in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, in the shape of a Romaic MS. of this century.<sup>(301)</sup>

Geography, including Ethnology, made some progress through the natural means of acquiring information upon such subjects, viz., travelling. Towards the middle of this century, the Pope sent forth missionaries, mostly Franciscans, to convert the Heathen, especially the Mongols; and the Friars, if failing in the object of their journey, brought back considerable knowledge of the countries they had visited; and these were several. Whilst some went among the idolaters of Africa, others set forth eastward from Palestine; and the party, commissioned by Innocent IV to convert Mangu Khan, left a detachment in Russia, then nearly *terra incognita* to the rest of Europe. About the same time, Lewis IX sent Rubruquis, alias Ruischbröck, upon a political errand to the same Mangu Khan; and the diplomatist addressed a written report of his expedition to the King. The prolonged mercantile journeys, above mentioned, yielded similar harvests. The father and uncle of Marco Polo would not have returned, even when they did, from their commercial expedition, but for the compulsory honour of accompanying an envoy from the Mongol, Kublai Khan. His own yet more prolonged travel and its record have been named and are known. These were all land journeys, maritime discovery not having yet begun, at least successfully; for the Genoese are said to have attempted forestalling their yet unborn, illustrious compatriot, Columbus, in the search for a western route to India. An exploring squadron



passed the Straits of Gibraltar, into the broad Atlantic, but was never heard of more; a damper, probably to the spirit of naval enterprise.

Nevertheless, the guide and facilitator of such expeditions, the Mariner's Compass, was now evidently too well known not to have been in general use. Brunetto Latino, in his *Tesoro*, accurately describes it and its uses; of which, earlier in the century, Guiot de Provins and Jacques de Vitry speak familiarly; and the lately named Alfonso X, el Sabio, in his *SIETE PARTIDAS*, distinctly calls the needle, the sailor's guide in dark nights. In the very first quarter of the century, Leonardo Fibonacci introduced Arabic numerals into Italy, if they were not earlier known there,<sup>(302)</sup> another open question. Astronomy was so far advanced, that two eclipses, occurring, the one in 1267, the other in 1270, were accurately calculated and foretold by a monk; although the description given of a comet, which, visiting this solar system in the year 1264, is said to have covered from a third to one-half of the visible sky with its enormous, bifurcated tail, may not awaken much respect for the accuracy of mediæval observation. If Friar Bacon really did present to his protector, Clement IV, a scheme of Calendar reform—of which the Bodleian library possesses a copy—similar to that which, after an interval of centuries, was introduced by Gregory XIII,<sup>(303)</sup> the Friar, like Frederic II, was too much in advance of his age for appreciation; the Pope rejected a scheme that would disturb the settled times of Church festivals. Astronomy had, in fact, scarcely yet begun to supersede or to rival astrology; even the philosophic Frederic II seeming to have prized the wondrous Michael Scott, quite as much in his proper capacity of Imperial Astrologer, as in that of translator of Aristotle, and brother-inquirer into Natural History. Frederic, however, tested astrology ere believing in it. The story goes that, A.D. 1236, he bade his Astrologer learn from the stars by what gate he would leave the city in which he was then sojourning, write down the name, and give it to him in a sealed note. When the sealed note was in his own hand, he ordered a piece of the town wall to be broken down, rode out through the gap, thinking thus to baffle the prediction, and opening the note, read, "Through the

newest gate." He was convinced. But to return to more real science. Early in the thirteenth century a Pole, named Vitellio Ciolak wrote upon Optics, his system being borrowed, it is conceived, from the Arab Al Hasen, who lived in the twelfth.<sup>(304)</sup> Spectacles are said to have been the invention of this century. Of the state of medicine there is little to be known beyond the course of professional study prescribed by Frederic II., which includes botany, chemistry, anatomy, logic, and astrology. With respect to the fees demanded by physicians and paid by patients, some little information has been preserved. Taddeo, a Florentine leech of this century, said to be the first Christian who rivalled his Hebrew and Arab brethren, when summoned to a distance bargained for 50 gold *scudi* per day as his regular fee, with a safe escort out and home again; from the Pope, Honorius III, demanding double that sum. In ordinary cases a load of hay—a physician being bound to keep a horse—was no unusual fee.

So great an honour did Bologna esteem Taddeo to her University, where he had studied, that she placed his family upon a footing with the families of Jurists, and granted the privileges of law students to his scholars.

Books were still costly, beyond what any but the really affluent could afford, and the price was greatly enhanced by the practice of illuminating them. A portion of the *PANDECTS*, the *DIGESTUM VETUS*, and the *DIGESTUM NOVUM*, sold at Pisa, at the opening of this century, for sixteen Bolognese *lire*, equal to about four guineas; and a *BIBLE*, at Bologna, A.D. 1279, for eighty Modenese *lire*, or about seventeen pounds sterling, the Bolognese *lire* being worth more than the Modenese. Cheaper copies were indeed made for students; but still so dear, that lending books, and that in portions, became a regular business, by which the lenders, called *stationarii*, acquired fortunes.<sup>(305)</sup>

Architecture made great progress in this century; whilst the Byzantine style degenerated, the Gothic order of church architecture is generally allowed to have attained to its perfection, all subsequent additions being merely decorative. The proof is found in the names of churches, begun, carried forward, or completed in the thirteenth century; as, in Italy, the already-mentioned beautiful church of St. Francis

at Assisi, which introduced the pointed arch to Italy; the cathedrals of Orvieto and Florence, planned and begun; those of Sienna and Arezzo, in progress.

But Italy was not the native land of Gothic architecture. Transplanted thither from Germany, and called Tedesco (German) Rome needed it not, having her magnificent temples and basilicas to convert into Christian churches, as had other Italian cities. Hence Italy has least to show in this line. In Germany, the cathedrals of Cologne, Strasburg, Ratisbon, Lausanne, the church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, St. Gudule's at Brussels, and others, were, at this epoch, some begun, some finished. So were most of the fine old French churches,<sup>(306)</sup> especially those of Rheims, Amiens, Beauvais, Nôtre Dame, and St. Denis, the last two completed in this century. So likewise, were, in England, amongst others, Westminster Abbey, York Minster, and Salisbury Cathedral, and in Spain, the Cathedral of Toledo. If Frederic II had no equally splendid church to show, he may, probably, claim the Campanile at Gaeta, capriciously ascribed to his grandfather, Frederic I, who never even visited Apulia, with which, till his son's marriage, he was really unconnected. But the grandson, in whatever he built, preferred imitating classic models, the beauty of which he and Nicolo Pisano inly felt; and he appears to have given more attention to civil than ecclesiastical architecture. He built the Neapolitan Castel Nuovo, and has left some other monuments of his taste in this art. Charles of Anjou, as mentioned in the history, employed Nicolo Pisano, or his son Giovanni, and their scholars, in building at least one church or abbey. These artists completed the Campo Santo of Pisa, which, though no church, as a place of burial belongs to church architecture. The cities, also, however emulous of each other's splendour in churches, might at this epoch be yet more intent upon honouring their municipal magistracies, *i. e.*, themselves, with buildings for purposes of government, than upon ecclesiastical decoration. About this time arose the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, in which resided, as well as sat, Priors, Anziani, &c.; the *Palazzo del Comune* at Piacenza, the *Palazzo della Ragione* at Padua, &c.; whilst bridges, arsenals, and other works of public utility, were

everywhere built, as in some places were castle-palaces. At Rome, Innocent III—who avowedly patronized the arts, and, as Pope, embellished as well as repaired the church, to which, as a cardinal, he had been attached—rebuilt the Vatican, employing one Marchionne, an architect who may think himself fortunate in being thus renowned; for—freemasonry, perhaps, absorbing the fame of the individual into the body—few names of early architects have been recorded. Amongst the few are, the Florentine, Arnolfo di Lapo, William of Innsbruck, Bononi, who built the Leaning Tower of Pisa, the German Jacob, and Erwin von Steinbach, who planned and began the Strasburg Minster.

Sculpture is more indebted than architecture to Frederic II, who is said to have been the first person sensible to the beauty of the antique, after the barbarian torrent had swept away classic art, together with taste and civilization. Appreciating the works of the Hellenic chisel, he sought and collected the remains, of what the early Christians, seeing in a statue an infraction of the second commandment, had zealously destroyed. And, to the study of the treasures of art, thus presented to the artist's eye, has the sudden and prodigious advance apparent in the works of Nicolo Pisano, his son Giovanni, and their scholars, been attributed; an advance, by artistic judges pronounced incomprehensible.<sup>(307)</sup> But, if Lanzi's account, that Nicolo had endeavoured to form himself upon an antique sarcophagus, carved in *basso rilievo*, with Hippolytus hunting, be correct, as the sarcophagus, in which were deposited the ashes of Marchioness Beatrice, mother of the great Countess, would be in Tuscany—where, in the Pisan *Duomo*, it still remains—the Emperor would seem to have owed his classic taste to the artist, rather than the artist to him. The pulpit of the Sienna cathedral is esteemed Nicolo's masterpiece; but Pisa, Lucca, Bologna, and Arezzo, still glory in *rilievs*, of father and son; which, if falling short of ideal perfection, are works of genius, displaying spirit and expression, congenial with the architecture they adorn, and truly inconceivable when compared to the state of the sister art, painting. In Germany likewise, sculpture, if in its higher department, statuary, no progress is perceptible—as, taking the effigies of Philip and

Irene upon their tomb at Walzheim as specimens of the art of the day, must be admitted—carving in stone, wood, and ivory, was rapidly advancing towards the beauty and delicacy to which it presently attained.

Painting received, in the beginning of the century, what may be thought either an impulse or a check, when the Crusaders' conquest of Constantinople dispersed Greek artists—still, however degenerate, very superior in the mechanical part of their art—over Europe, especially over Italy and Germany, where they established—if the word may be used for what in Italy proved so transitory—their school.<sup>(308)</sup> The earliest Italian school named, is that of Sienna, however jejune, more susceptible of improvement than the Byzantine; and a picture painted by Guido da Sienna, in 1221, is praised by judges. But not till later in the century did the progress really begin, stimulated possibly by that of sculpture. In 1235, the first portrait from the life was painted, that of Fra Elia, the deposed Minorite, Father Guardian, by Giunta Pisano. In the second half Cimabue flourished, decorating, with his pencil, amongst other sacred edifices, the church at Assisi, and was latterly assisted by his lowly born pupil Giotto, who is held to have given, by variety of posture, more life, and something of a dramatic nature to the art.<sup>(309)</sup> But, in truth, the thought of what their successors were to become is required, to make the productions of these first discoverers that the graphic art needed improvement, interesting to any but scientific artists and antiquaries; so deficient are they, though not without expression and a certain vitality, in all that captivates the eye of the mere connoisseur. Painting was, however, as much prized then as now; arguing from the many extant orders for adorning the apartments of Henry III and his Queen, in divers royal castles, with pictures presenting historical and sacred subjects; and with the last class, many church windows were “storied.”

The Italian school of Mosaicists now fully rivalled the Byzantine, judging from a comparison of the Mosaics executed by Jacopo or Giacomo Turila, a Siennese Franciscan, in Santa Maria Maggiore, at Rome, to those which Byzantine artists were simultaneously adding to the abundant orna-

ments of St. Mark's at Venice,<sup>(310)</sup> long after this church had been considered as finished. Gold and silver images with jewelled eyes—goldsmith's work, and even embroidery, it will be remembered, then ranked amongst the fine arts—richly embossed gold work set with jewellery, engraved precious stones, silks with figures inwoven, in gold thread, or subsequently, embroidered, chiefly destined for the embellishment of altars and shrines, abounded. Lewis IX, upon his return from his first Crusade, in gratitude for his escape from a storm during the homeward voyage, ordered a silver ship, completely rigged, and containing silver images of himself, his family, and the crew, to be made, and sent to the shrine of St. Nicholas: to whom, indeed, the Queen, in the extremity of the danger, had vowed such an offering. The first letters patent of nobility heard of in France were granted, A.D. 1271, by Philip III to Raoul, a goldsmith, who had skilfully and splendidly wrought a sarcophagus, or a shrine, for St. Genevieve.

Of progress in Music no especial notice appears. Most churches seem to have had organs; but so had strolling musicians, whence the style of instrument may be conjectured. Such as the art was, however, both Frederic and Manfred encouraged it, their artists being, apparently, for the most part Saracens.

With respect to the social condition of Europe, there seems not much to add to the last chapter of this kind. The progress towards modern civilization and refinement was necessarily slow, and longer periods than three quarters of a century are required, to produce striking change. Chivalry, Troubadours, and the Minnesingers, had brought woman more prominently forward; but there was no habitual society in which she could hold her place, and only so can her general influence be felt. At tournaments everywhere, and, in the south of France, at *Cours d'Amour*, she reigned supreme; and, to the causes producing this species of occasional female sovereignty, has the worship of the Virgin—first known in this century—been ascribed. But tournaments, if frequent, were not of daily occurrence; and when there were none, woman remained secluded, the noble dame in her castle, where she passed her time—as of yore—in superintending the spinning, weaving, and

other domestic manufactures, carried on in all families, until the manufacturer, extending his business as he improved in skill, supplanted home produce; when this occupation must have died away. Such being the life of noble ladies, citizen's wives and daughters were then, probably, everywhere, as now in Germany, the mere upper-servants of their husbands and fathers. What has been said of the character of poetry under burgher patronage might alone mark the position of city dames.

Tournaments indeed abounded, becoming more numerous and more extravagantly magnificent, as if in defiance of papal prohibition; save in Italy, where, the democratic temper of the towns, and the utter absorbing of the few independent nobles in political faction, being unfavourable to such pleasures, they were long almost unknown, and first introduced—at least into the southern portion of the peninsula, for something of the kind, in honour of Frederic II., was seen at Padua—strange to say, by the Popes' protégé, the disdainer of all pleasures and pastimes, Charles of Anjou. The prohibitions became more and more positive and vehement, as successive Popes saw more of the lives, which they would fain have dedicated to again wresting the cradle of Christianity from misbelievers, sacrificed to mere amusement; and lives *were* so sacrificed, purposely as well as casually. As, *e. g.*, at a tournament in the year 1234, the Countess of Clermont betrayed so deep an interest in the feats and perils of Florence, Earl of Holland, that her husband rushed upon his presumed rival; a fierce combat ensued; both fell, mortally wounded, and the fair cause of the disaster died broken-hearted. A tournament held near Cologne, in 1241, if barren of such romance, cost, unintentionally, the lives of 60 knights. In 1268, a Margrave of Brandenburg was slain in this chivalrous sport; as was, in 1290, another Prince of the Empire, a Duke of Bavaria; and four years later, in 1294, at a tournament given by the Duke of Bar, in honour of his marriage with an English Princess, Edward I's daughter, the Duke of Brabant, in his youth a renowned tilter, but now somewhat advanced in years, being wounded and unhorsed, presently died, forgiving his inconsolable antagonist. Yet so unsuccessful, when opposed to the taste and temper of the age, did

Church weapons prove, though supported by such fatal evidence of their being rightfully employed, that, whilst the Fourth Crusade owed its existence to one tournament, at the very opening of the century, towards its close, permission to hold another for practice in chivalrous feats, was made the condition of receiving the Cross; and in this tournament for practice, a second Conte de Clermont was, if not killed, rendered a maniac for life, by a blow on the head.<sup>(311)</sup> That ladies were eager spectatresses of these death-dealing sports might, at this time of day, seem incredible, but for the known fact that Spanish ladies gaze upon the disgustingly bloody incidents of a bull-fight, even as French and Englishwomen do upon a tragedy. That, so attending tournaments, they would watch every movement of the tilters with intense interest, might half disrobe themselves in zeal to shower favours, each upon her own especial knight amongst the combatants, as told of them, is perfectly conceivable; scarcely so, that from such tremendous excitement they repaired to the ball, which terminated the day's pleasures, and danced as light heartedly as though the sanguinary scene had been a dramatic representation, leaving the dead men alive. Whilst speaking of the pleasures of the age, the *Fête des Fous*, mentioned for the first time as celebrated at Ratisbon in 1246, must not be overlooked, more especially as, however inconceivable the idea in more refined times, the festival in question was really deemed a religious observance, even as the revolting festival of the Ass was a commemoration of the flight to Egypt.

Perhaps to the universal delight in a sanguinary pastime may partly be imputed the continuing cruelty that disfigures the age. The frequent massacre of prisoners of war, the atrocities perpetrated on both sides during the crusade against the Albigenses, have been seen; so have the burning of fugitives in buildings which they thought sheltered them, the dashing out the brains of infants against the pillars of a church, the executions and mutilations ordered by Charles of Anjou, and their fearful retaliation in the Sicilian Vespers. Nor does any moderating of legally inflicted punishment appear, even subsequent to this period, if the legal doom of traitors at Florence, in the next century, was, to be planted in the earth with the head downward.



Happily this torture could not last long.<sup>(312)</sup> Do the cold-blooded vagaries of individuals more characterize an age than such wholesale, authorized atrocities? Here is one specimen amongst many. A knight of the Archbishopric of Treves is reported to have plundered his own peasants, burnt their cottages, forcibly deflowered their daughters, and laughed at the agonies of women in child-birth, whom he suffered to die in his castle for want of help. Yet amidst the perpetration of such deeds, a contemporary writer, Rolandinus, chivalrously exclaims against the soldier who wounded the captured Ezzelino, saying, "To wound a prisoner, noble or ignoble, is base."

The extravagant magnificence displayed upon festive occasions, undiminished since the preceding century, still bewilders the imagination, whilst everyday comfort improved but slowly. Mirrors indeed had been introduced, whether of glass or metal; St. Elizabeth had one, set in ivory; and mirrors set in lead do not seem uncommon. Glass lamps likewise are mentioned; but such costly rarities were glass windows, that an Earl of Northumberland, having indulged in such splendid luxury, the windows were carefully taken out and stowed away, when he and his Countess left home. If the apartments of Henry III's Queen were ornamented with historical pictures, and hung with tapestry, and her table was actually furnished with forks,<sup>(313)</sup> her floors, like those of her royal predecessors, were carpeted only with rushes, fresh ones being strewed over the decayed, and her whole stock of household furniture, even to her bed curtains, travelled with her from palace to palace. If such were the accustomed discomfort of the highest classes, those of the inferior may be surmised; yet was the luxury of the middle classes, especially in Italy, thought to require sumptuary laws for its restraint, and provoked the indignation of reformers, whose irate regrets afford some knowledge of the conditions of life in the thirteenth century. Ricobaldus Ferrariensis, who wrote towards its close, thus mourns over the change in the manners of citizens in the less than half century that had elapsed since the days of Frederic II: "Then a man and his wife eat off the same plate; there were no wood-handled knives, and not more than two drinking cups in a house. Candles of wax or tallow were

unknown; a servant held a torch (probably a piece of pine wood) during supper. Men's clothes were of leather, unlined, scarcely any gold or silver was seen in their dress. The common people eat flesh only three times in the week, and kept their cold meat for supper. Few drank wine in summer. A small stock of corn was esteemed riches. The portions of women were inconsiderable, and their dress plain, even after marriage. The pride of men turned upon being well provided with arms and horses; of the nobles upon the height of their towers, with which all Italian cities are filled." The reformer imputes the change from these homely ways to Charles of Anjou's Provençal followers. Ricobaldus speaks only of the citizens. The species of luxury which, amongst the higher classes of Italy, was even earlier superseding the homeliness of every day life, may be gathered from the satiric sonnets, addressed, A.D. 1260, by Folgore di San Geminiano to some gentlemen of Sienna, professing to teach them how to amuse themselves. He speaks of bedrooms well warmed and lighted, with silken sheets upon the beds; for pastimes, of hunting, hawking, fishing, pelting fair maidens with snowballs, and love-making in beautiful gardens; of banquets with iced wines, oranges, and other fruits.<sup>(313)</sup> Now this being prior to Charles's invasion, the luxury of Provence must be supposed still greater; whence it may be suspected, that the daughter of the Earl of Provence did not increase her personal indulgences, as much as she raised her dignity, by marrying the King of England. But it is known from other sources that the commercial cities of Italy were distinguished by a frugality which helped to accumulate the large mercantile fortunes, whence the owners gained the designation of merchant-princes. The traders of Lower Lorraine, on the contrary, are always described as self-indulgent; luxurious at table, magnificent, without extravagance, in mansion and apparel. Before the end of the century, the splendid attire, in which the city dames of Bruges met the Queen of France, provoked a jealous anger in her Majesty, from which Flanders suffered severely.

The Church still thundered in vain against the capricious absurdities of fashion, whilst sumptuary laws, or police regulations, forbade the middle classes to ape the prodigality

of their superiors in these respects. This species of minor legislation was more usefully occupied in guarding against widely destructive fires, by ordering town houses to be tiled instead of thatched. Coats of arms were beginning to supersede effigies upon seals; but their use was still confined to the higher ranks; even knights were obliged to authenticate their legal documents by the seal of their feudal superior.

Superstition, as well as bigotry, still deformed the sincere devotion of the age, and priest-craft was still on the alert to coin weakness. Of this a single instance may suffice to complete, in some measure, the portraiture of the thirteenth century. In the year 1288, Rudolph, Archbishop of Salzburg, being at feud with the Duke of Austria and short of money to pay troops, announced a vision, in which St. Virgil, the eighth occupant of his see, had appeared to him, pointing out the precise spot in the cathedral in which his ashes lay. The prelate next obtained the Pope's permission to exhume the sacred relics; then convoked a Synod of the clergy of the province to assist at the solemn ceremony, and promised indulgences to all the laity who should attend. Amidst masses, psalms, and litanies, the excavation, in the designated spot, began. When it had proceeded a certain length, the Archbishop and four of his suffragan bishops, took the spades into their own hallowed hands. But they toiled in vain; no symptoms of a dead saint appeared. Then they left the opened trench, performed divers sacred rites, took off their shoes—how useful soever in digging—and barefoot resumed their unwonted labours, when the body was instantly found. So prodigious was the concourse of spectators, that their offerings sufficed amply to equip the archiepiscopal army.<sup>(314)</sup>

THE END.



## NOTES TO VOL. IV.

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(1) p. 4. Giannone. The only reason for rejecting this story is, its inconsistency with the supposed constant favour of the Popes to the Lombards. But this favour was merely a form, or expression, of community of interests; the republican notions of the Lombards could not but offend the despotic old pontiff; whilst subjecting them to the sea-severed King of Aragon would have answered all Gregory's purposes. But true or false, neither offer nor acceptance had any result.

(2) p. 7. Jamsilla says that Galvano Lancia had been Imperial Vicar in Tuscany as well as in Lombardy. The number of Lieutenants named, if coofficiating, and not over separate districts, might rather impede than assist each other.

(3) p. 10. Giannone.

(4) p. 14. This detestable equivocation does not stand a solitary instance of treachery, conceivable only by Gregory IX, his Legate, Cardinal Montelunga, and Doge Tiepolo. The times must share the responsibility. An ancestor of the Dukes of Austria, a Babenberg, in rebellion against the last Carlovingian German Emperor, Lewis the Child, was, in like manner, lured from his impregnable castle, the Altenberg at Bamberg, by an oath to bring him back in safety. Archbishop Hatto of Mainz—known in "legendary lore" as food for the mice—having thus sworn, when scarcely a tenth of the way to their destination, exclaiming that he was faint from inanition, prevailed upon the incautious rebel to return, and breakfast at the castle, ere proceeding. Then, when they afterwards reached the imperial camp, alleging that his promise had been redeemed, he led him to the scaffold. To think that the mice really "picked the Bishop's bones" is some comfort.

(5) p. 17. Raumer, Petr. Vin. in Bibl. Barberina.

(6) p. 18. Denina.

(7) p. 18. Pfister.

(8) p. 19. Whether the Doge were the prisoner's father or brother seems

doubtful, although a modern writer, Daru, makes him so certainly the father, as to abdicate, and die of grief; giving no authority.

(9) p. 21. One of these letters is in Martene's Collection of historical documents (ii, 1165), and, the spirit of the correspondence having been sufficiently characterized, may be simply transcribed in the original, as a specimen of Frederic II's Latin style, for, notwithstanding his cultivation of living tongues, he wrote to the schoolboy King in the language of science. "Primatibus orbis et regibus clara progenies sola non sufficit, nisi genus egregium generositas adjuvet, et illustris industria clarificet principatum; nec ab hoc solum quod altius sedeant reges et cæsares ab aliis disjunguntur; sed quod profundius videant et virtuosius operentur. Præterquam quod enim hominibus humanitate participant, vitæ communicant, nec sibi præcipuum vindicant, si singuli virtute prudentiæ ceteros non præcellant. Sic enim nascuntur ut homines, et ut homines moriuntur. Nullus autem ex regibus juxta sententiam Salomonis ad vitam aliud habet nativitatis initium, alio potius est exitu. Propter quod oportuit et voluit habere sapientiam spiritus, quam præposuit regibus cunctis et sedibus, in comparatione illius nihil esse divitias reputavit. Igitur, fili mi, attende sapientiam, et prudentiæ inclina aurem, ut regis insigniis decoratus, effectum regii nominis assequaris. Nomen enim regum inde certo, quod subditos regamus, accepimus. Reges enim protinus esse desinemus si regali prudentia destituti, privatorum regimine potius regimur quam regamus. Immo, tanto se majori nota notabiles faciunt principes inæcii, quam privati, quanto nobilitas sanguinis per infusionem subtilis et nobilis animæ facit ipsos esse præ ceteris susceptibles disciplinæ. Cumque sublimium dispendiosa simplicitas, nec ipsos solum dispendiis afficit, sed subjectos, dum præcipitum principis post se trahit populos ad ruinam. Propter quod meritò dicitur: Væ terræ cui rex puer est, quia domini pueritia terra plectitur, et regis stultitiam populus sæpe deplorat. Et cum inter ceteros principes a te velut in Romanorum regem electo, vere dependeat plurimum populorum . . . . [sic, a word being, apparently, illegibly written, or accidentally omitted, by either the Emperor or some transcriber] propter quod de imprudentia tua possent periculosiora dispendia formidare; de necessitate prudentiam amare te convenit, ad quam per studii scalam et disciplinæ gradus celeriter pervenitur. Et quia Cæsarea dignitate deposita, in humiliato fastigio regis majestatis, sub magistri ferula, sub regula præceptoris, non Regem aut Cæsarem esse convenit, sed scholarem; doctoris igitur increpationibus pareas, doctrinam libenter accipias, et si scire desideras, desideres edoceri. Etenim juxta sapientiæ verbum, qui corripientem dura cervice contemnit, repentinus superveniet interitus, et eum sanitas non sequetur. Ut igitur velut sapiens filius patrem lætifices, scientiam diligas, nec abhorreas disciplinam, nec regem ex nominis dignitate solummodo tibi fore sufficiat, sed ex regiminis virtute rectorem."

(10) p. 28. Hammer-Purgstall. It was suggested, in a former volume (vol. ii, p. 509, note 127), that the name of Kumans might be used as a generic designation, but Hammer-Purgstall describes the Kumans as inhabiting Crim-Tartary prior to its conquest by the Mongols; whence they were the Tartar tribe best known to Hungary and the Eastern Empire, whether as enemies, as allies, or as supplying mercenary troops.

(11) p. 29. Karamsin.

(12) p. 31. Voigt asserts, that the Teutonic Order was too fully occupied in conquering Prussia and preserving Livonia, to spare aid against the Mongols. But the general opinion, adopted by Hammer-Purgstall, sends a detachment of Marian Knights to Liegnitz,—the Thermopylæ of Western Europe.

(13) p. 31. Bronikowski avers, that the Mongols did lay siege to the castle, but, frightened by an Aurora Borealis, raised it, and went in search of the enemy. An effect of fright as little to be expected, as that an army, coming from Russia, should first see the Northern Lights in Silesia. A very slightly esteemed Italian writer of compendiums, Compagnosi, places the Aurora Borealis somewhat later, as the cause of the Mongols turning southward, from Germany to Hungary.

(14) p. 33. This is the usual account; Hammer-Purgstall, in his History of the Golden Horde, says that the cry of "Come on!" was mistaken for "Fly! Fly!" But he does not give the words causing a mistake so incredible.

(15) p. 33. Bronikowski. Joinville's description of the appearance of the Greek fire, which will be cited in its proper place, sufficiently resembles this statement to justify the idea, that the Mongols had captured and enslaved some pyrotechnic artist, either Chinese or Arab.

(16) p. 35. Matt. Par.

(17) p. 38. Paton.

(18) p. 38. Raumer, Cardella, Ericus, Cecconi. Matthew Paris clearly states some English prelates to have prepared "viriliter, licet cum magno periculo ad Transalpinandum."

(19) p. 41. Denina adopts it in both senses, literally and figuratively; saying it was: "per la bestialità dell' Ammiraglio ubriaco," that the battle was fought.

(20) p. 41. Matt. Paris.

(21) p. 41. It may be noticed, as relative to the taste of the age, that in Frederic's letter to Enzo, apparently directing the disposal of the captives, occurs a pun or play upon words, "Tres Legati veniant huc usque ligati;" (Martene Coll.) subsequently repeated and improved in an epistle to Henry III, explaining his motives for capturing the prelates. He there says, that Cardinal Gregorio went to Genoa: "Legatus legatis ut in simul ligarentur:" and that when taken, they were secured, "Legatos ligatos."

(22) p. 42. Giannone, whose anti-papalism makes his History of Naples a

prohibited book at Rome, being unfavourably disposed to the Swabian descendants of the Norman kings, seems, upon the present occasion, willing to credit all the accusations of both parties. Muratori, no Ghibeline, fairly observes: "Convien dire che la storia di questi tempi é alterata di troppo dalle passioni, dalle calunnie, dalle dicerie, che non ci lascian discernere la erità di tutte le magagne d'allora, ne di chi fosse il torto in varie casi di quelle maledette discordie."

(23) p. 44. Id. Historians differ as to whether only Otho of Montferrat, or all the captive Cardinals were thus released; but surely a compliance so imperfect, and, relatively to its object, so unsatisfactory—ten is the number given of the Cardinals voting,—must have called forth complaints and remonstrances; and none appear. The example of Pfister, who adopts Giannone's statement, as most probable, has therefore been followed. That the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina is afterwards found in Frederic's custody, can only prove that, being out on parole, he honestly returned to captivity.

(24) p. 50. Zschokke speaks of incipient alienation in Duke Otho, prior to the personal offence upon which it rests in the usual account. But it must be stated that Wolff asserts a single letter of remonstrance from the Emperor to have sufficed for the recall of Duke Otho to Ghibelinism—an assertion needing proof.

(25) p. 51. Matt. Paris.

(26) p. 56. Vol. ii, p. 237; vol. iii, p. 50.

(26\*) p. 59. Raumer.

(27) p. 62. The anti-Imperialist, even more than anti-Papist Sismondi, says that every point in dispute was actually settled when Innocent fled: but most historians represent him as studiously protracting the negotiation, to give the ships he had asked for time to arrive.

(28) p. 63. Guelph writers represent Innocent's professed fears as well founded, asserting, that he never dreamt of flight till alarmed by the attempt upon his liberty at Sutri; whilst Ghibelines justly observe, that the assertion is refuted by the Pope's secret request for the Genoese fleet, which, denied by some, Muratori admits. The result of Henry V's capture of Pascal II would hardly tempt a sagacious successor to renew the experiment.

(29) p. 68. Vol. i, p. 374.

(30) p. 68. Hormayr.

(31) p. 69. Mailath.

(32) p. 70. Guichenon. Matthew Paris makes Conte Tommaso, the Emperor's son-in-law. But Tommaso had within the year married the Pope's niece; and, intriguing courtiers of Henry III, as his Queen's uncles, the princes of Savoy, were, the professed Historian of their House seems the preferable authority. The ducal title of Aosta and Chablais scarcely appears in history; and Guichenon, in his enumeration of the titles of each successive



earl, somewhat puzzlingly now inserts, and now omits, Prince of Piedmont, and Duke, whether of Turin, of Aosta, or of Chablais.

(33) p. 70. Michelet places the marriage of Charles of Anjou in this year, 1245. When Beatrice, probably a mere baby, was affianced to Charles, A.D. 1229, Earl Raymond's elder daughters were already the wives of the Kings of France and England; but why she, the fourth, was preferred to the third, Sancha, then also a child, and single, as heiress of Provence, is not explained.

(34) p. 72. Wilken.

(35) p. 72. The words of Albericus, as quoted by Wilken, are: "Maximum holocaustum et Deo placabile."

(36) p. 73. That the fortifications were still unrepaired, has been adduced in proof that Frederic, to obtain the restoration of the Holy City, pledged himself to keep it dismantled. But, precipitately as the Pope's invasion of Apulia recalled the Emperor-King to defend his heritage, he could not enforce the execution of the orders he issued upon the subject; and probably the Syro-Franks grudged the expense, whilst a truce suspended the necessity.

(37) p. 73. Raumer, Fundgruben, Iperius, Salisb. chr.

(38) p. 76. Wilken. The presence of Egyptian troops as auxiliaries, may explain the barbarians' knowledge of their captive's quality.

(39) p. 80. Matt. Paris.

(40) p. 82. Id.

(41) p. 88. Id. A little before he had stated that *all* were released in 1243. Mediæval writers did not seemingly hold the sifting statements or the reconciling of discrepancies to be the historian's duty.

(42) p. 89. Giannone says, that the Pope *could not* comply with the request; a fortnight being the utmost time, that a Council could lawfully grant. Strange; being equivalent to a denial of justice to an accused person if residing at a distance. But even so he might have conceded two days, or, taking the French word, la quinzaine, all three.

(43) p. 90. Matt. Paris. Foreign historians make this odd name more odd.

(44) p. 91. Raumer, upon the authority of Monachus Patavinus, makes the Pope yet more positively impute his own violence to the Almighty, denouncing the Emperor as excommunicated and deposed by God himself, which "*divinam sententiam*" he presumes to confirm or ratify.

(45) p. 93. Mills, in his History of Chivalry, supposes this to be the first Council that interfered with Tournaments. The reader of these pages hardly need be reminded that they had been long since prohibited by those Assemblies of the Church, both in fear of their keeping back warriors from Crusades, and as an idle risking of human life. See vol. i, p. 152, and vol. ii, p. 436.

(46) p. 95. Vol. i, p. 210.

(47) p. 95. De consideratione ad Eugen. III.

(48) p. 96. See vol. i, p. 125.

(49) p. 98. Joinville, Wilken, Guil. de Nang., Guiart, Hugo Plagon, Marini Sanut.

(50) p. 98. Michelet.

(51) p. 100. Matt. Paris; Raumer.

(52) p. 100. It seems strange that, amidst so many groundless accusations, Innocent IV did not seize upon this offer, as a proof of Frederic's breach of the promise, given, under duress from stern necessity, to Innocent III, to sever his southern from his northern dominions. The explanation that offers of the omission of this charge, is, that both Gregory IX and Innocent IV considered the pledged word as redeemed by the Emperor's committing the government of Germany first to Henry, then to Conrad; holding the authority he still exercised there to be merely the supreme imperial sovereignty. Yet to make the present offer consonant with this idea, it should have been to resign the Sicilies to the younger Henry, his son by Isabella, or to his grandson by the elder, criminal Henry; leaving Conrad, at most, the regency during the minority of the brother or nephew preferred.

(53) p. 100. It must always be recollected that the French duchy of Burgundy was distinct from the Arelat or Kingdom of Lower Burgundy; and remained, until long afterwards, equally so from the German Freigrafschaft of Burgundy, afterwards Franche Comté.

(54) p. 101. Wilken says, that he now offered to lead a crusade against Frederic, thus cooling the imperial zeal in regard to his real Crusade. But this is not the prevalent opinion; and that Wilken's authority is less supreme upon the European, than the Asiatic and African portions of Crusades, has been said. Lewis led no such crusade,—surely Innocent would have pinned him to his offer—and the idea is inconsistent alike with the royal Saint's previous conduct, and with the letters, subsequently addressed to the Emperor by himself and his mother.

(55) p. 101. Constitutiones Friderici.

(56) p. 102. Münch, Sigonius.

(57) p. 112. Raumer, Codex Vindob. philol.

(58) p. 112. Sismondi.

(59) p. 113. Si de jure et sicut de jure.

(60) p. 114. This comparatively small number, the Guelphs being the most numerous party, is one argument against the 10,000 fortress-castles in Pisa.

(61) p. 115. Raumer, Aventin., ann. viii.

(62) p. 116. Of these seven electors, four had seldom, if ever, pretended to vote in an Electoral Diet. Whether no more prelate-princes were willing thus to commit themselves, or some vague idea of this being the proper number, though as yet not so fixed by law, existed, is uncertain.

(63) p. 117. Some writers say that Conrad had been upon the point of marriage with a French princess; and only when she, in a paroxysm of devotion, took the veil, fulfilled his engagement with Elizabeth of Bavaria. That upon Otho's desertion Frederic would seek another wife for his son, is very likely; so is it that a sister of the sainted King should prefer a nunnery to marriage with an excommunicated and deposed prince; on no side is there anything objectionable except on Duke Otho's.

(64) p. 118. Dr. C. W. Böttiger, whose Guelph propensities led him to select Henry the Lion as a protagonist, in his other work, the History of the Saxon States, says: "The cities favoured their protectors and fosterers."

(65) p. 120. Guichenon.

(66) p. 120. Some writers make Manfred's mother daughter to a Signor d'Anglone and widow of a Conte Lancia; Arrivabene calls her the daughter of a Conte Minio; Giannone of a Conte Miniato, explicitly stating that Bianca di Lancia was the mother of two daughters, Selvaggia and Violetta, only: yet all regularly call the Lancias Manfred's uncles. Again, as to the nature of her connexion with Frederic; a prevalent opinion is that, touched by her coming to nurse him in his last illness, and the widow-life she had led since their separation upon his third marriage, he married her; or, according to some writers, made her his Empress. That title, however, she never bore; though Jamsilla ranks her with the empresses, saying Frederic left three sons by his Jerusalemite, Italian, and English consorts; and the Sicilian magnates will be seen to speak of Manfred, as born in lawful, though unequal wedlock.

(66\*) p. 121. Jamsilla's commentary upon the name is larger, and, as characteristic, may be transcribed—the constant play upon the syllables being untranslatable. "Non sine causa Manfredus vocatus fuerit, quasi manens Frederico, in quo quidem vivit pater jam mortuus, dum paterna virtus in ipso manere conspicitur. Vel Manfredus, id est manus Frederici, ut pote sceptrum tenere dignus est, quod manus paterna tenuerat. Vel Menfredus, id est mens Frederici, sive memoria Frederici, quasi in eo mens, vel per eum memoria Frederici perduret. Vel Minfredus, id est minor Frederico, majori oblato subcrescens. Vel Monfredus, id est mons Frederici, sive munitio Frederici, in quo videlicet Frederici nomen et gloria ultrò usque in monte sive munitione excelsa quasi ad sepulchrum posterorum servata consistunt, ut per quascumque vocales etymologias ipsius nominis varietur, paterna ibi res et nomen inveniatur."

(67) p. 124. Raumer, Salimbeni.

(68) p. 125. Muratori.

(69) p. 127. Matt. Paris says, his "mellitos et super oleum mollitos sermones."

(70) p. 129. Matt. Paris.

(71) p. 131. Fessler; Mailath.

(72) p. 133. The home of the elder Henry's sons, after their release, is involved in obscurity. This application represents them as at their grandfather's court, their most probable abode; yet some chroniclers speak of them as accompanying their mother to Treves, and even as sent by her to Conrad, after Frederic II's death. She could hardly so send them after the negotiation for her claim to the duchy and her second marriage was afoot.

(73) p. 141. Matt. Paris. .

(74) p. 141. Wilken, who upon the authority of Vita Innoc. IV, Nicolai de Curbio, accuses Frederic of seeking in divers ways to thwart the Crusade; for instance, refusing Lewis permission to embark in any of his ports—he does not say in what Italian port Alphonse and his division embarked—rejects this account of his supplying the Crusaders' wants upon two grounds: one that it rests solely upon the authority of Matthew Paris; the other, that Lewis had sent ample supplies to Cyprus. But an unexpected prolongation of sojourn may exhaust the stores provided for a shorter stay; and Matthew Paris was in such high favour at the English Court, that he was as likely to have good information, as was Innocent's biographer to adopt his hero's opinions and calumnies. Wilken's crusading zeal biasses him against the philosophic, imperial statesman, and the letters of the royal Crusader and his mother corroborate the English chronicler's statement.

(75) p. 142. Sismondi.

(76) p. 144. *INFERNO*, Canto 22.

(77) p. 144. Manno.

(78) p. 144. Münch.

(79) p. 145. Salimbeni, Malespini, and Villani, adopt this idea.

(80) p. 146. There is indeed in Martene's *COLLECTIO* a letter from Pietro delle Vigne to some unnamed friend, whom he implores to obtain for him from the Emperor, wherewith to free himself from the persecution of creditors. But this letter, being undated, is proof positive only of his having once been poor.

(81) p. 146. Amongst the letters bearing his name, Petrus de Vineis, *EPISTOLARUM LIBRI VI*, is one addressed to the Emperor, repudiating some unexplained accusation brought against him.

(82) p. 147. Giannone; Raumer; Pfister.

(83) p. 148. *INFERNO*, Canto 13.

(84) p. 149. Wilken.

(85) p. 151. Spinelli says, that Manfred's letters, announcing his father's death, reached Naples upon the 16th.

(86) p. 151. The epitaph engraved upon the tomb of Frederic II, by the Sicilian nobles, is this:

“Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,  
Nobilitas orti, possent resistere morti,  
Non foret extinctus Federicus, qui jacet intus.”

(87) p. 151. The way in which, without inquiry or reflection, such accusations are adopted or repeated, is well exemplified in Denina's treatment of this charge. Without hinting a doubt, he says: "It was generally believed (*fu creduto generalmente*) that Manfred smothered his father." Yet when he afterwards has to speak of the supposed parricide's character, he even more positively says: "Manfredi era di naturale umano, dolce e benefico, accresciuto dagli studii della filosofia, e delle lettere." And yet, without motive or object, a parricide! Muratori more rationally doubts the crime, because Manfred could get nothing by it.

(88) p. 152. Pfister.

(89) p. 152. In the western peninsula, which remained a sort of fossil mediæval specimen long after the rest of Europe was modernized, this idea of property in a kingdom is, or very lately was, incorporated in the language; a Queen regnant being distinguished from a Queen consort by the style and title of *Reyna proprietaria*. If Isabel II and Maria II were born too late to enjoy this descriptive epithet, Isabel I, her daughter Juana, and the late Queen of Portugal's great-grandmother, the insane Maria I, were all so designated.

(90) p. 153. It may be worth observing, relatively to the charge of positive infidelity, that Hurter, an honestly diligent historian, ascribes Frederic II's church-building to his desire of earning the favour of God.

(91) p. 155. Frederic probably knew the similar experiment recorded by Herodotus, in which the children, being committed to the nursing of a goat, naturally spoke her language; and substituted mutes, to guard against a similar disappointment. The Franciscan Salimbeni, whose Order had been twice banished by Frederic for treasonable obedience to Gregory IX and Innocent IV, calls these experiments "*curiositates, superstitiones, perversitates, abusiones, credulitates.*" One of the fanciful experiments, recorded as actually atrocious, has been omitted in the text, because the indignant relator—no contemporary—doubts whether his tyrant Frederic II, were our Emperor or his great-grandson, Frederic, King of Sicily. The story is, that a Frederic II, being curious respecting submarine phenomena, as he one day sat upon a rock overhanging the sea, tempted a professional diver, with extravagant rewards, to venture too far, when he was lost. The inquisitive tyrant is not taxed with employing any means beyond bribes. Schiller's beautiful ballad, founded, with fair poetic license, upon this anecdote, is generally known.

(92) p. 160. Funcke.

(93) p. 162. Wilken.

(94) p. 163. Raumer. Wilken implies, without explicitly saying, that Lewis, when relieved by the Patriarch from responsibility, took the oath he thought blasphemous, Joinville being his authority. But Joinville says, in so many words, that he knows not how it was settled: "*Je ne sai pas com-*

ment le serement fu atiré;" and Boniface VIII, in the Bull of Canonization, asserts that Lewis persevered in his refusal.

(95) p. 164. Wilken.

(96) p. 169. Sismondi.

(97) p. 169. Amari, Inn. IV Epist.

(98) p. 174. Sismondi.

(99) p. 176. Jamsilla says of Manfred, "a pueritia paternæ philosophiæ inhærens."

(100) p. 181. Jamsilla.

(101) p. 185. Denina.

(102) p. 185. Some old MSS. state that Conrad placed Manfred by his side *under the state canopy*. If so, what becomes of the recent invention of the *Baldacchino* to honour Innocent IV? Was the invention then only a new fashion of an old canopy? or had it instantly spread through Italy?

(103) p. 189. Raumer. Villani charges Conrad with violating the capitulation upon which Naples surrendered; but the simple statement that, according to Villani, Conrad conquered the Sicilies from the Pope and Manfred, and died, poisoned by Manfred, in 1252,—a year before the submission of Naples gave him an opportunity of violating her capitulation, may suffice to dispose of his authority for what did not come under his personal knowledge. Spinelli says Naples capitulated, and, without alluding to any breach of terms, adds that Conrad made great justice and great slaughter (*justitia e uccisione*). Giannone says the town was sacked without mention of capitulation; and Muratori, no Ghibeline, says that some Guelph writers accuse Conrad of massacring the Neapolitans, and others of banishing immense numbers, whilst others notice no extraordinary severity. Surely, had there been any breach of sworn terms, none of these writers would have omitted it; nor would Innocent IV, in his Catalogue of Conrad's crimes, which will presently be seen.

(104) p. 189. Capecelatro.

(105) p. 189. Pfister.

(106) p. 190. Jamsilla imputes Conrad's distrust of Manfred, not to hostile insinuations, but to his own sense of Manfred's superiority.

(107) p. 194. Giannone.

(108) p. 195. Pfister says, that both brothers, Frederic and Henry, died a year before their young uncle, Henry, whilst others speak of Frederic's grandson, Henry, as alive at a later epoch.

(109) p. 195. Matt. Par.; Raumer, Salimbeni, B. de Neocastro, Chron. Imper. and Pontif. Laurentium MSS.

(110) p. 198. Jamsilla.

(111) p. 198. Matt. Par.; Raumer.

(112) p. 198. Pfister.

(113) p. 198. Raumer, Chron. Imper. and Pontif. Lauren. Muratori quietly says, "Dio sa," whether Conrad poisoned Henry; and much questions Manfred's having poisoned Conrad. Denina, as usual, gives the reports without remark.

(114) p. 200. Raumer, Salimbeni.

(115) p. 200. Giannone.

(116) p. 204. Matt. Par.; Leo; Warnkœnig; Raumer, Salisb. Chron.

(117) p. 206. Raumer.

(118) p. 207. *Veri Dei in his terris vicem gerens et universali reipublicæ Presidens.* Lang. Jahrbuch zu 1253.

(119) p. 214. Woff.

(120) p. 217. Denina, who asserts that Manfred signed this treaty solely to get rid of Conrad's Germans, should have said, whether, as hostile to his regency, through attachment to the Margrave, or because, already contemplating the usurpation of his nephew's Italian birthright, he dreaded their loyalty to a compatriot king. Except upon one of these grounds, he could not wish to be rid of troops whom he knew, when regularly paid, to be excellent, and upon whom, next to the Saracens, he will presently be seen to rely. Spinelli says, that Manfred promised Innocent to dismiss them, which is more likely. Dismissed, however, they were not. If Denina meant to insinuate that Manfred did not consider his submission as final, or intend to sacrifice his nephew's right to the throne, or his own in default of his nephew's, that is unquestionable.

(121) p. 222. Muratori avers, that Berthold both pleaded in Manfred's behalf and warned Lancia of the Prince's danger; and, although the Margrave's subsequent conduct discovers no friendliness towards Manfred, it is very possible, that he no more wished to see the Pope undisputed master by Manfred's imprisonment, than Manfred, by the Pope's expulsion; his object being the regency. Jamsilla says, Lancia and Filangieri found the Margrave elate with the Pope's favour, and very different from what they expected; but that he joined in their consultations as to Manfred's best course.

(122) p. 223. Jamsilla says, that they repeatedly sent one of the mission, "*ex ipsis*," Goffridus de Cusentia; of course, prior to Filangieri's visit.

(123) p. 230. Jamsilla, who is supposed to have been one of Manfred's party, for the whole account of the flight.

(124) p. 234. Vol. i, p. 85.

(125) p. 234. Raumer.

(126) p. 235. Amari describes Alexander IV as "*rubicondo e corpulento*;" a portrait agreeing well with part of the character ascribed to him.

(127) p. 235. Muratori.

(128) p. 237. Some writers say the one, some the other, upon this immaterial question.

(129) p. 237. Amari, Jamsilla.

(130) p. 239. This document, Raumer, in his *ITALIEN*, speaks of having seen—where it would hardly be sought—in the Archives of Venice.

(131) p. 239. Dahlmann.

(132) p. 244. Jamsilla.

(133) p. 244. The narrative has already been perhaps too much encumbered with investigations of factious and improbable accusations. Yet altogether to omit the crimes laid at Manfred's door by highly esteemed Italian historians, would seem partisanship; they may, therefore, be here stated side by side. Giannone, writing centuries later, but upon the authority, not only of old chronicles, but also of State Papers—and any such incriminating the supplanted royal race would be carefully preserved—merely taxes Manfred with employing messengers to bring a report of Conradin's death from Germany. But the nearly contemporary Ricordano Malespini and Villani give a detailed account of Manfred's sending ambassadors to Bavaria, to acknowledge Conradin in his name; of the cautious mother showing those ambassadors another boy instead of her son; of their giving the supposed little King sweatmeats, which he ate, and died; and of their hastening home to report the death, their work. That neither writer adduces a tittle of proof of these charges, scarcely need be added. Jamsilla merely says a report came; and Muratori, no special favourer, as has been seen, of the Norman conqueror's German descendants, remarks, that we have only Guelph historians of Manfred, who inherited the great qualities of his ancestors, without their cruelty acquitting him of the attempt to poison his nephew, whilst he accuses him of intentional usurpation, and therefore of accrediting the rumour of his death.

(134) p. 247. According to Politz, the Imperial crown was now again offered to, and refused by, Margrave Otho of Brandenburg. But this is not the general opinion, and the princes showed little inclination for so powerful a German potentate as this Margrave.

(135) p. 248. Raushnik expressly says that Richard desired to do good.

(136) p. 249. Schmidt, through Gebauer's *LEBEN RICHARDS I*, quoting Thos. Wikes, says that the Dukes of Bavaria got £18,000 sterling; a sum too extraordinary, as well in designation as in comparative amount, to be received, even upon his authority. Admitting that, as representing two duchies—Franconia, in the Rhine palatinate, and Bavaria,—they claimed payment for two votes, it is still out of proportion to the 8000 marks of the other electors.

(137) p. 250. In such circumstances, an interval of more than three months, betwixt the two elections, seems so impossible, that the startling dates of January, 1256, and April, 1257, can only indicate the year's then ending in March.



- (138) p. 251. Schmidt.
- (139) p. 252. Different writers give this unlucky chess-player different names, of which Graf von Kirchberg seems the best authenticated.
- (140) p. 255. Sartorius.
- (141) p. 257. Raumer, Marco Polo ; Hammer-Purgstall ; Wilken, Abulfaradj, lures out only the chief men.
- (142) p. 258. Muratori ; who speaks of a small fine as the regular penalty of such murders ;—as if not uncommon.
- (143) p. 259. Hallam.
- (144) p. 261. Sismondi.
- (145) p. 262. Id.
- (146) p. 275. Dante, *INFERNO*, Canto 10.
- (147) p. 277. Arrivabene and Foscolo. By others named Aldobrando and Aldimari.
- (148) p. 282. Villani ; Raumer, Malespini.
- (149) p. 286. Sismondi.
- (150) p. 289. Amari ; his words are, "potenza e virtù."
- (151) p. 291. Spinelli.
- (152) p. 293. Giannone imputes the attempt at preventing the marriage to Alexander IV ; reckoning its failure amongst the disappointments that killed him. The treaty may have been a year in hand—but Alexander died in 1261, and Urban opposed the marriage in 1262 ; when it took place.
- (153) p. 294. Villani ; Raumer, Saba Malaspina, Malespini.
- (154) p. 294. Spinelli.
- (155) p. 295. Napier has an odd story of about this date, unauthenticated by him, and otherwise unknown to the present writer, and little consonant with the general conduct of Elizabeth of Bavaria, but not to be wholly unnoticed. It is, that the Guelphs at Lucca invited Conradin, the infant, hereditary head of the Ghibelines, to join and lead them against Manfred and the Ghibelines ; and that the widowed Queen, in answer, sent the child's furred mantle, as a pledge that, when old enough, he would accept the invitation. Probably a different version of a later proposal from the Fuorusciti at Lucca, that seems to have been unanswered.
- (156) p. 296. Giannone ; Sismondi, apud Raynald.
- (157) p. 298. This settlement of a patrimonial principality—though akin to what had been proposed for Philip's third daughter—perplexes continental authors ; even Augustin Thierry, in his history of the Norman conquest of England, calls Beatrice an only child, given, as an orphan, by her guardians to Charles of Anjou. For the arrangement, see vol. iii, p. 398.
- (158) p. 299. Giannone.
- (159) p. 300. Raumer, giving no specific authority for this engagement, distinct from the treaty, which is in Martene's *Thesaurus*.
- (160) p. 304. See vol. iii, p. 326, where Gregory IX's key-bearers appear

as mongrels between Crusaders and mercenaries. Sismondi doubts the Crusade's being commanded by Robert de Bethune, Countess Margaret's grandson, and Charles's son-in-law, because three years later, at the head of Charles's own army, he was placed, on account of his youth, under the guidance of the Constable of France. So might he now have a military tutor, though unnamed. Spinelli is the contemporary authority for the invasion, upon whom Giannone and other later writers chiefly rely.

(161) p. 305. Tiraboschi.

(162) p. 307. Raumer, Martene Thes.

(163) p. 308. Amari.

(164) p. 309. Sismondi. M. Lermnier, in the *REVUE DES DEUX MONDES*, asserts that Lewis was ultimately convinced of the Pope's right to give and take away kingdoms, which, if he did lend Charles money, it is to be hoped he was; or the canonized King was content wrongfully to rid himself of a dangerous brother. But the French reviewer is prejudiced in favour of the French usurper, whom he depicts as a pattern of virtue and piety; confident in the justice of his cause, and in his own rectitude, even when he executed Conradin.

(165) p. 309. Denina.

(166) p. 312. Daru, *HISTOIRE DE VENISE*.

(167) p. 314. Sismondi.

(168) p. 317. Amari, "un a masnada di ladroni".

(169) p. 319. Buoso da Doara, Doaria, Dueria, or Dovara, is placed by Dante amongst the traitors, as bribed by Charles of Anjou (*INFERNO*, Canto 32): he has, however, found apologists and champions. Fra Francesco Pipino, as quoted by Arrivabene and Foscolo, merely changes the offence from accepting a bribe, to pocketing the money sent by Manfred, for the purpose of raising a Ghibeline army: but Muratori, followed by Sismondi, asserts that the fall of the Signori di Romano had so debilitated the Ghibeline party in Lombardy, that Buoso could not get force sufficient to guard the passage of the Oglio. Denina, writing after Muratori, still says: "Tradi il partito suo."

(170) p. 322. Muratori.

(171) p. 324. Guelph writers adopt this accusation, which Malespini enhances by saying that Manfred had triumphed over his sister's virtue by sheer violence, but no one adduces any evidence beyond the husband's treason and alleged jealousy. Negative proof in such cases is impossible, and Manfred in the few days he survived, probably never heard of the accusation; all that can be added in refutation to the remarks in the text, is that Manfred's conjugal union with Helena, and his strict protection of female chastity, seem inconsistent with such gross depravity.

(172) p. 327. Jamsilla ascribes the rash approach to the walls, to Petrus Romanus, Proconsul Romanorum.

(173) p. 328. Raumer, *Descript. vict. Car.*, Trutta, Martene Thes., Cesare.

(174) p. 329. Id. Saba Malaspina.

(175) p. 330. Saba Malaspina is the authority both for this taunt—hardly credible in an age more likely to reprobate disbelief in astrology—and for Manfred's extraordinary faith in the stars, whose advice he is said to have asked touching the day of battle.

(176) p. 330. Saba Malaspina.

(177) p. 331. Whether Manfred meant German, Norman, or old Italian ancestors, is questioned.

(178) p. 331. Raumer, Savioli.

(179) p. 332. Villani's estimate is 3000 lances, making 12,000, 18,000, or 21,000, according as the lance is computed at four or six horsemen, including or excluding the knight. Sismondi gives Charles double the number; Guiart, as quoted by Raumer, makes his first battle alone 10,000 strong; and the *ANNALES MUTINENSES* assign him 5000 horse, 15,000 foot, and 10,000 balistarii or crossbowmen.

(180) p. 332. Foscolo and Arrivabene.

(181) p. 332. The main authorities for the battle are Saba Malaspina, Malespini, *VIE DE ST. LOUIS*, and *DESCRIPTIO VICTORIÆ CAROLI*.

(182) p. 333. Villani acquits Charles of giving the order, calling it a cry, that arose, no one knew how, amongst the French and Provençaux. But Sismondi, much as he seems to rely upon Villani, eludes this statement, merely saying, "the order was given," not by whom. Ricobaldus remarks upon the advantage which the piercing swords of the French gave them over the Italian cutting swords; inasmuch as they could stab under the arm raised to deal a cut; these swords would likewise tell in wounding the horses.

(183) p. 333. Raumer, Sozom., Mani. This anecdote is too generally accredited to be rejected, but bears Guelph flattery of triumphant Guelphs, and calumny of crushed Ghibelines, upon its face. The question is in direct contradiction to the description of the appearance of Charles's army after its recent sufferings; and one of Manfred's three battles consisted of Lombard and Tuscan Ghibelines: Manfred must have known that the impoverished Guelph *Fuorusciti*, if well equipped, could not be serving gratuitously.

(184) p. 334. Sismondi makes the eagle fall from the helmet, without giving his authority. Malespini says the helmet itself fell; and few others mention the accident. The eagle seems more likely to fall than the helmet. Sismondi gives Manfred's words in Latin, *Hoc est signum Dei*, probably copying the passage in old Chronicles.

(185) p. 335. Raumer, Vit. Pontif. Sismondi speaks of great loss on both sides in the battle, and immense on the Sicilian in the flight. He quotes no authority, but the statement authenticates itself, agreeing with the account of the battle.

(186) p. 336. Giannone puts a far longer speech, bearing the stamp of

authorship, not sorrow, into Lancia's mouth. It is: "Oimé Signor mio, ch'è quel ch'io veggio! Signor buono! Signor savio! Chi t'ha così crudelmente tolto di vita! Vaso di filosofia, ornamento della milizia, gloria dei regi! Perché m'è negato un coltello, ch'io mi potessi necidere, per accompagnarli nella morte, come ti sono nelle miserie!" Muratori imputes the parading of Manfred's body upon an ass to Charles, saying it was for recognition. But still the insult was superfluous; and hatefully unfeeling as Charles was, he must not be loaded with unproved brutality.

(187) p. 336. Petra roseti, and campus rosarum. Bartolom. de Neocastro.

(188) p. 339. Giannone says Helena had only two children, a son and a daughter; in which number Muratori, who, followed by Sismondi, calls her Sibylla, agrees; whilst Bartolomeus de Neocastro gives Manfred only a daughter of his second marriage; and documents relative to sons of Manfred's exist. Amari names three sons and a daughter as the issue of the second marriage; and upon later occasions mention of sons in the plural occurs.

(189) p. 340. Raumer, who remarks upon the fact, but gives no authority.

(190) p. 341. Raumer, *LIVRE DEU CONQUEST*.

(191) p. 341. The Guelph, Saba Malaspina, says the Sicilians ere long exclaimed: "Oh, King Manfred, when alive we knew thee not, thee, whom dead we now bewail. We thought thee a ravenous wolf amongst the pasturing sheep of this kingdom; but in comparison with the present dominion, from which we, in our mutability, expected such happiness, we know that thou wast a gentle lamb. We feel how sweet was thy rule, now, whilst tasting the bitterness of this. We often complained that part of our substance was taken for the government of thy Majesty; but now we see all our property, and what is worse our persons, the prey of foreigners." Of modern liberals it may be observed, that the republican Arrivabene, says Manfred had all the virtues, "che pur sempre dir si vorrebbero regie," of course acquitting him of parricide and fratricide.

(192) p. 344. Welf.

(193) p. 346. Mailath.

(194) p. 348. Doubts have been started, especially by Weber, whether the confederation of knights for plunder did not precede those of towns for defence. Weber is a writer of no great authority, and the idea seems absurd. There was ample cause for a defensive confederation amongst the robbed; none why he who successfully robbed singly, should seek confederates to share his booty, until the strength of the defensive league became an overmatch for the single noble plunderer.

(195) p. 350. Muratori.

(196) p. 353. Balbo.

(197) p. 353. Münch.

(198) p. 353. Arrivabene and Foscolo.

(199) p. 354. Gregorio, as quoted by Coletta, *il divino Codice Svevo*.

(200) p. 359. Muratori.

(201) p. 359. Raumer quotes Raynald, and COD. VINDOB. PHILOL., COD. MSCR. VATIC., for a letter from Clement to Richard, in which he apologetically says that he had appointed Charles, who was already very powerful in Tuscany, not Imperial Vicar, but Conservator of the Peace, upon the conditions named in the text. But Martene's *Thesaurus* contains another letter from Clement to Charles (ii, 1268), which clearly shows that he gave him both offices; first that which he calls *Paciariūm*, and then, because his *Paciarus* found in Tuscany *turbatores* instead of sons of peace, "*te vicarium ipsius imperii in dictis partibus constituimus generalem XV calendas Martii, anno IV.*" Probably the letter to Richard was written prior to this date, or could Clement use the new title to mark the way in which he had limited the power of the absolute Imperial Vicar?

(202) p. 360. Raumer, Chron. Imper. Laurent., "*Pietate deposita.*"

(203) p. 361. Mariana, *HISTORIA DE LAS ESPAÑAS*.

(204) p. 361. Whether Don Henrique joined Charles before or after the battle of Benevento, is disputed, but the latter seems the more probable. He and his band are not named in contemporary descriptions of the battle, and the conqueror, when master of the kingdom, still wanted troops and money for further schemes.

(205) p. 363. Muratori calls the Lancias and Capeces ingrates, owing their lives and property to the lenity of the conqueror, whom they strove to overthrow. The Capeces might, possibly, be so indebted, but not the Lancias, of whom one, if not two, had been driven by atrocious inhumanity to suicide, and the two survivors had, whilst not in his power, bargained for their lives and properties. But does the reverend Annalist hold personal vengeance a more lawful motive to insurrection than the general interest of the nation, and justice to a despoiled heir?

(206) p. 367. Hormayr.

(207) p. 373. Raumer, Pignolus, Guercio, *Mediol. annales*. Sismondi, quoting Villani, Caffari, and Michael de Vico, says that Conradin divided his army, taking the infantry with him; a course that really would seem devoid of common sense. The writers here named, with Saba Malaspina, Malespini, and Monachus Patavinus, are the chief authorities for Conradin's expedition.

(208) p. 381. Malespini; Raumer, *Mutin. annal.*, *Annal. Mediol. Abbas. Burg.* Sismondi adopts the lowest figure for both armies, without quoting any authority.

(209) p. 386. Raumer, Sismondi, Villani, Cesare, Saba and Ricordano Malaspina, Charles's Letters, &c.

(210) p. 388. Bartol. de Neocastro. This offer of Conradin's to marry a Frangipani, has been denied, upon the ground that he already had a wife in

Germany, namely Bridget, daughter of Theodore Margrave of Misnia, by Helena, daughter of John I, Margrave of Brandenburg. That a document exists (Raumer, Aettenkhover Urk.), dated A.D. 1266, by which Conradin pledges an estate to Lewis Duke of Bavaria, expressly in payment of expenses incurred—"pro consummatione matrimonii nostri apud Babenberg"—there seems no doubt. But if these words be taken in their literal sense, they prove the historians who rely upon them mistaken, at least in the person of the wife they give Conradin; since the marriage of Bridget's parents was not celebrated till two years after the date of this document, when the young bridegroom was already in Italy. If the words mean only a betrothal, though this seems much, to the expected daughter of a contemplated marriage, such a contract may be possible. No father-in-law appears either in the expedition or the previous family Council; and upon the scaffold Conradin named neither wife nor bride. Two German poems of his speak of a love of his youth, but without reference to matrimony.

(211) p. 389. Villani represents Frangipani as giving Conradin and his companions up gratuitously, solely because excommunicated. But the present writer cannot feel much reliance upon Villani for anything out of Tuscany.

(212) p. 390. Raumer, Saba Malaspina.

(213) p. 392. Malespini and Villani represent Conrad, Conte d'Alba, as the victim of his dastardly troops and of the savage l'Étendart's perfidy, whilst Giannone lets Capece escape with the Infante. But the majority of historians give the fate of the two Conrads as here related; and the preservation of d'Alba is too circumstantially detailed to be without foundation.

(214) p. 392. Raumer, Torelli, Reccho. Usano ancora nel cimiero cifrato il nome Suevo.

(215) p. 392. Giannone, following some Guelph chroniclers, imputes the death of Conradin to the advice of Clement. To Charles's question through an envoy, of What should he do with his prisoners? some of these writers assert that the Pope pithily replied: "Vita Conradini mors Caroli, mors Conradini vita Caroli:" and others, that he expressed surprise at a wise man's consulting a priest relative to necessary homicide; and others that, closely following the old Etruscan example, he led the envoy into his garden, struck off the heads of the tallest flowers, and bade him report what he had seen. If it appear strange to tax Guelphs with calumniating a Pope, were it not stranger, if an upright though prejudiced pontiff gave secret advice diametrically opposite to the tenor of the letters he was even then addressing to his royal vassal. But as there was no unity of spirit or feeling between the Popes and the Guelphs, who only acted together when community of interests urged them, why should not Guelphs sacrifice a Pope's reputation to that of their especial Head, Charles? Not only do German inquirers reject the story after due investigation, Muratori adds to the rejection a statement that

Clement wrote to Lewis IX, calling upon him to prevent his brother from putting Conradin and his other prisoners to death.

(216) p. 393. Muratori, Ricobaldus, who says that the French Barons and Judges supported Guido da Suzara; and Ricordano Malespini adds that Earl Robert struck the one Judge who pronounced Conradin guilty.

(217) p. 394. Schmidt, Sismondi, Foscolo and Arrivabene.

(218) p. 394. Pfister says, that Ottocar of Bohemia advised including Frederic of Austria in Conradin's sentence. Ottocar was quite equal to thus seeking to free himself from a rival, and though not in Italy might send such advice; but it was involving himself in needless complicity.

(219) p. 394. The Carmelites, originally an aggregation of hermits, upon Mount Carmel, governed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, having fled to Europe in dread of Mohammedans, Mongols, and Mamelukes, notwithstanding the decree of Innocent III's Œcumenic Council against new Orders, were admitted as the Order of Carmelites, upon the plea, that, having existed an hundred years, the recognising them as European monks was not sanctioning a new Order.

(220) p. 396. The vindicators of Roberto di Bari (Sismondi one) assert that the orator, slain by Earl Robert's indignation, was the same nameless Provençal who returned the verdict of guilty. It is difficult to suppose a foreigner selected to harangue the people at a critical moment.

(221) p. 396. The story of the glove is questioned by sceptical historians, and its truth or falsehood is immaterial to the Aragonese claim, Manfred's children being, in virtue of Frederic II's testamentary dispositions, Conradin's next heirs; and Constance, the only one of them in a position to enforce the right: the glove, as a symbolical bequest, belongs to the age.

(222) p. 397. The discrepancies in contemporary accounts, that perplex the historical student, occur relative, even, to this public, pseudo-judicial, execution. Giannone and Amari make Frederic's decapitation precede Conradin's. Sismondi and others differ as to the number of Lancias and Donaraticos who perished, all, like those who have been followed in the text, appealing to contemporaneous authorities.

(223) p. 398. The tomb, church, and a pillar commemorating Conradin's fate, are, by Italian writers, variously ascribed to Elizabeth of Bavaria, whom they call Margaret, (a strange blunder, but hardly invalidating their evidence,) to citizens of Naples, (who durst not thus brave the tyrant,) and to Charles's son and heir, Charles II, as an act of expiation.

(224) p. 398. Upon this catastrophe Wolfgang Menzel exclaims: "So perished the Hohenstaufen, that mighty race of heroic monarchs, who, to sovereign power united the highest dignity, the glory of great actions, the wondrous charm of transcendent personal beauty, and a rich poetic vein; who irradiated the Middle Ages, as the sun pours forth his vivifying effulgence in

the genial fulness of spring; upon whose vanishing, the rare as lovely flowers he has called into existence, close their blossoms. So the Middle Ages, in all their phenomena, Church, Empire, Estates, Religion, and Arts, reached under them the culminating point, from which the decline was general and uninterrupted.

(225) p. 399. Dante, *Purg.*, Canto 33.

(226) p. 400. Raumer, *Constit. Regni Siciliani*.

(227) p. 401. Raumer, *Sifridi epit.*, *Eccard. gen. princi.* Some writers substitute a wood-cutter or an ass-driver to the menial: but it seems difficult for such persons to introduce themselves into a princess's bedroom.

(228) p. 402. Politz.

(229) p. 402. To this practical refutation, if it may be so termed, by Frankfort, of old Guelph and modern liberalist—the slang term has before been apologized for—attacks upon the Swabian Emperors, as ultra-feudal despisers of cities and oppressors of citizens, may be added a sentence from the modern Guelph, Böttiger. He says of a Margrave of Misnia, whose death, A.D. 1288, he records, that he had lived to see “*Die hohe Kraft eines, von den Hohenstaufen so schön als klug gepflegten Bürgerstandes, schon in einzelnen Städten reich und mächtig.*”

(230) p. 403. Arrivabene says that Dante marries Manfred's daughter, Beatrice, to the Marquess of Montferrat, quoting the end of Canto 7 of the *Purgatorio*; where a Beatrice and Margaret are named, much as if they were sisters, and a Marquess of Montferrat also, but not as connected with them. This Beatrice is, moreover, supposed to be Charles of Anjou's Provençal wife.

(231) p. 405. Arrivabene and Foscolo.

(232) p. 407. Amari.

(233) p. 407. Giannone.

(234) p. 408. *Purgat.*, canto 6.

(235) p. 409. Wachsmuth.

(236) p. 409. Rauschnik.

(237) p. 410. Vogt.

(238) p. 411. Rauschnik.

(239) p. 411. Wolfgang Menzel.

(240) p. 411. Sartorius. The meaning of the word *Hanse*, or *Hansa*, has been matter of discussion. It is said to be found in documents of the twelfth century—before any league of German towns existed—signifying a Guild; together with *Hansegrafen*, as judges appointed to decide mercantile disputes; whilst a charter of King Philip's speaks of a *Hansegraf*, as a sort of burgomaster; and Luden asserts that Ulfilas uses *Hanse* for a handful of warriors. The factories of the *Hansa* were, beyond even those of the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese in the East, so unlike the idea now suggested



by the name, that a few details concerning one, which, before the close of the century, having been expelled from Norway, defeated the Norwegian monarch, and re-establishing itself at Bergen, there flourished, may not be unseasonable. This factory, according to Rauschnik, consisted of 3000 individuals from the several Hanse towns, divided into four classes—of House-fathers, Merchants, Companions, and Apprentices. They were formed into households, each under a house-father, and led a sort of monastic life, strictly regulated as to hours, &c. These households were all gathered together, in one quarter of the town. Disputes amongst themselves, if trifling, were settled by two house-fathers; if more considerable, were referred to and decided by a board of merchants. Merchants, after ten years' residence as such, were permitted to return home, when Companions succeeded to their station. Apprentices were initiated with queer ceremonies, designed to test their courage; such as would now be called a mystification, but then, being adapted to the temper of the age, were treated very seriously.

(241) p. 411. Why the prohibition was limited to those principalities does not appear.

(242) p. 414. His words are: "*Etiam circa puerilia rudimenta quasi expers scientiæ literalis.*"

(243) p. 416. Miss Strickland, Fox.

(244) p. 419. Raumer; Daru; Sismondi.

(245) p. 420. Some writers call this Maria—misled, probably, by the designation "of Antioch," which she bore as daughter of a Prince of Antioch—the widow of Frederic of Antioch: whilst a letter of Gregory X, relative to the purchase of her claim by King Charles, speaks of her as unmarried. Raumer's genealogical table gives Frederic (of Antioch because born there) Margarita Cajetana as his wife; whom Barto. de Neocastro describes as *Margharitam, filiam N. de Romanis cunabulis editam.*

(246) p. 420. Hammer-Purgstall.

(247) p. 422. Hume.

(248) p. 422. Hallam.

(249) p. 423. Vol. iii, p. 432.

(250) p. 424. Ricotta.

(251) p. 424. Vol. i, pp. 126-7.

(252) p. 425. Jamsilla, who says: *Facta sunt de ingenio Marchionis Bertholdi quædam lignea instrumenta triangulata, sic artificiose composita, quod de loco ad locum leviter ducebantur, et quocumque modo revolverentur semper ex uno capite erecta constabant.*

(253) p. 425. The name, Greek fire, was intended to refer the composition to classic times, when, the story ran, Aristotle invented this formidable weapon for the use of Alexander the Great; though a less overwhelming myth relates that, in the seventh century a Greek, named Callimachus, dis-

covered and brought the composition to Constantinople, during the siege of that city by the Arabs. (Reinaud and Favé.) But then, whence Greek ignorance of the ingredients?

(254) p. 425. Reinaud and Favé. Casiri, translating an Arab MS. in the Escorial, speaks of artillery with gunpowder, used by the King of Granada, at the siege of Baza, A.D. 1312.

(255) p. 425. Wilken.

(256) p. 426. Dahlmann.

(257) p. 426. Hasse, *Murray's Handbook for Northern Italy*.

(258) p. 426. Mrs. Somerville.

(259) p. 426. Hallam.

(260) p. 426. Vol. ii, p. 408.

(261) p. 427. Luden argues against this generally received date, that such a compilation would not be made until the want of it was felt; (which may be admitted,) and that the want would not be felt, until the creation of the duchy of Brunswick completed the dissolution of the original duchy of Saxony (which does not seem equally certain). Earl Baldwin had led the way, and the spirit was abroad. However if the *Sachsen-Spiegel* could be proved to have been first published in German, that would be presumptive evidence of its being posterior to Frederic II's German legislation; a Latin original would merely tend to show it anterior to that Mainz Diet.

(262) p. 427. Campbell, *LIVES OF THE CHANCELLORS*.

(263) p. 428. Hammer-Purgstall.

(264) p. 428. Napier.

(265) p. 428. The precise date of the *CONSOLATO DEL MARE* is not known; but the claim of Pisa to its promulgation, would make this century the latest possible. The laws of Oleron, if not Richard's, who died A.D. 1199, probably belong to this century.

(266) p. 430. Hallam.

(267) p. 431. Vol. iii, p. 344.

(268) p. 431. Vol. iii, p. 274.

(269) p. 432. Savigny.

(270) p. 433. Id.

(271) p. 434. Id.

(272) p. 434. Even as Shakespeare, following, of course, the Italian story, represents it in the *MERCHANT OF VENICE*.

(273) p. 435. Tiraboschi doubts the fact of any of these ladies ever having actually lectured to the law students, because first mentioned by writers of the following century. But these doubts refer merely to dates and individuals, not to the phenomenon; for that, at a later epoch, wives and daughters of Italian professors did, what has been ascribed to these ladies, he fully admits.

(274) p. 435. Hallam.

(275) p. 436. From the Bishop's treatise, *DE ANIMA*, Raumer extracts the following: "Non est possibile homini intelligere animam suam non esse. Patefactum est nullam animam rationabilem, vel aliam substantiam intelligentem, intelligere posse, vel credere, vel etiam dubitare, se non esse. Unicuique animali rationali, notum est suum esse, et notum ipsi sibi notitia certissima, *quâ certitudine nulla major.*"

(276) p. 436. Hammer-Purgstall.

(277) p. 438. Vol. ii, p. 410.

(278) p. 438. Ticknor.

(279) p. 438. Millot.

(280) p. 438. Arrivabene and Foscolo.

(281) p. 439. Sharon Turner.

(282) p. 440. Sismondi.

(283) p. 441. Id.

(284) p. 441. Vol. ii, p. 415, note 255.

(285) p. 441. Sharon Turner.

(286) p. 442. Id., Hippealey.

(287) p. 442. Vol. ii, p. 421.

(288) p. 442. It is in explaining the reason of a part thus taking place of the whole, that Dante eulogizes Frederic and Manfred as quoted in the final note of vol. iii; and the whole passage is well worth transcribing. The oldest copy is in Latin, though Italian critics incline to rank it with his Italian writings, therefore preferring the Italian to the Latin title, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, lib. i, cap. xii. "Siquidem illustres Heroes Federicus Cæsar, et bene genitus ejus Manfredus, nobilitatem, ac rectitudinem suæ formæ pandentes, donec fortuna permansit, humana secuti sunt, brutalia dedignant, propter quod corde nobiles, atque gratiarum dotati inhærere tantorum Principum majestati conati sunt: ita quod eorum tempore quicquid excellentes Latinorum nitebantur, primitus in tantorum Coronatorum aula prodibat, et quia regale solium erat Sicilia, factum est, quicquid nostri prædecessores vulgariter protulerunt, Sicilianum vocatur: quod quidem retinemus et nos, nec posteri nostri permutare valebunt."

(289) p. 442. Bettinelli gives the following fragment, as a specimen of Frederic II's juvenile amatory vein:

Valor sor l'altre avete,  
E cannos cenza,  
Null' homo non porria  
Vostro presio cantare  
Di tanto bella siete.  
Secondo mia credenza  
Non è donna che sia

Altra di bella pare  
Ne c' haggia insegnamento.  
Da voi donna sovrana  
La vostra cera humana  
Mi dà conforto, e facemi allegrare:  
Allegrare mi posso donna mia  
Piu conto mi ne tegno tuttavia, &c.

(290) p. 443. The bold opinion given upon the value of Villani as authority must be supported by an instance or two of his blunders, taken not from remote countries and ages, where mistakes, however ludicrous, might, in early times, be expected, but from his native country, and times not distant from his own. He makes Robert Guiscard (the greatest of the Hauteville brothers who conquered southern Italy) the second son of Robert Duke of Normandy—whether meaning Robert le Diable or William the Conqueror's son Robert, is not clear,—reckons but one William of Sicily, to whom succeeded Robert Guiscard's nephew, Tancred; but Tancred's son offending Celestin III, that Pope forced a dispensation from her nun's vows upon Constance, and married her to Henry VI; when she died, a mother, within the year. Some, yet later, have been noticed as the misrepresentations occurred.

(291) p. 444. Vol. ii, p. 418.

(292) p. 444. Gervinus, Grimm, A. Humboldt.

(293) p. 445. The Niebelungen Lied is so highly esteemed in Germany, and, independently of its poetic merit, is so interesting a monument of the thirteenth century, that such an outline of the fable as will elucidate the different views mentioned, may not be unacceptable. Siegfried, the hero, is, for the sake of a treasure, won from dragon or dwarf, treacherously murdered by his wife's brothers and kinsman. His widow, Chriemhild, marries Attila as the means of revenging her slain husband upon her brothers and kinsman; and lures them to the Hun court, where she achieves their death, at the cost of the lives of Attila and the child she had borne him. In the Scandinavian fragments, the widow, Gudrun, after nearly dying of the death of Sigurd (their Scandinavian names) is with great difficulty reconciled to her brothers, who marry her to Attila. It is Attila, who, tempted by the treasure that had tempted them, lures the brothers to his court; and she, who vainly endeavours to warn them of their danger, murders Attila and her child by him, to avenge them. Surely the elder version. Those who conceive the story to be connected with the Burgundian migration to the banks of the Rhine, rest much upon Worms being Chriemhild's native place, and the scene of the first murder. Gervinus holds the enmity of the sisters-in-law, Brunehault and Fredegonde, and the murder of Brunehault's husband by Fredegonde's emissaries, to be the events thus idealized. A. Trüger finds them in the history of Victorinus, one of the thirty tyrants, alias, nineteen rival emperors, who contended for the empire in the third century: and Müller, a Dane, asserts that the whole poem is allegorical. A Norwegian bishop is said to have taken a copy to Scandinavia in the first half of this century.

(294) p. 446. Gervinus.

(295) p. 447. Politz.

(296) p. 447. Conversations Lexicon.

(297) p. 448. Montalembert.

(298) p. 449. Ticknor.

(299) p. 449. Sir J. G. Wilkinson's Dalmatia and Montenegro.

(300) p. 450. Eichhoff, HISTOIRE DE LA LANGUE ET DE LA LITTÉRATURE DES SLAVES.

(301) p. 450. Hallam, Ducange.

(302) p. 451. Humboldt, in his *Kosmos*, asserts, quoting the *APERÇU HISTORIQUE DES MÉTHODES EN GÉOMÉTRIE*, of Chasles, that the modern system of numeration, invented by the Indians, was known in Europe, earlier than to the Arabs; which is possible certainly, though scarce likely.

(303) p. 451. Berington.

(304) p. 452. Lach Szyrina, for Polish science and literature.

(305) p. 452. Berington.

(306) p. 453. Michelet.

(307) p. 454. Handbook of painting, from Kugler.

(308) p. 455. Mrs. Jameson.

(309) p. 455. Lectures of George Scharfe, Esq., at the Royal Institution, whence much of this artistic information is derived. Need the reader be reminded, that it was Giotto, who is reported to have crucified a model, that his picture of the crucifixion might be true to nature.

(310) p. 456. Lanzi. Mrs. Jameson names, amongst the Mosaicists at St. Mark's, an Italian, Andrea Tafi, but a pupil of the Byzantine school.

(311) p. 458. The deaths in a tournament, held long after the period of time with which these pages are concerned, A.D. 1408, so illustrate the manner in which these pastimes were, doubtless, often made subservient to individual passion, as to claim notice. To this tournament, by which a Graf von Katzenellenbogen celebrated his completion of a new church and a new palace at Darmstadt, 140 Hessian and 120 Franconian knights were hastening, when, meeting on the road, they drank together, quarrelled over their cups, and, by agreement, turned the sportive *melee* into a real battle, in which 9 Hessians and 17 Franconians were slain, and numbers of both parties seriously wounded.

(312) p. 459. Napier. Slowly, indeed, has progressive civilization softened the human heart towards enemies, or even towards strangers. During the wars of our chivalrous Edward III, the French governor of a town or province burnt 900 men, women, and children, in a church, to prevent their surrendering to the English. Nay, we are told that, late in the seventeenth century, William III, when obliged to raise the siege of Waterford, being asked: "What was to be done with the prisoners?" answered, one would fain hope in unmeaning ill-humour—"Burn them!" Whereupon, whether meant or not, 1000 prisoners *were burnt!* (Miss Strickland's *QUEENS OF ENGLAND*, and Porter's *HISTORY OF IRELAND*). But, did not the cold-blooded, able

Dutchman, deliberately order the massacre of Glencoe ; as the Russians now fire upon a flag of truce bringing home their released countrymen ; but Russians have, as yet, hardly attained to mediæval civilization, under their French varnish.

(313) p. 459. Miss Strickland.

(314) p. 460. Napier.

(315) p. 461. Rauschnik.

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*Zinsleute*, see Rent-payers.  
 Zurich, i, 221, 237; iii, 243; iv, 170.







[illegible]

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